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THE PRESS?**

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UNCOVERED
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COLUMBIA JOURNALISM REVIEW

March/April, 1972

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Passing comment

Blowing Kissinger's covers

Maybe it was only happenstance that placed Henry A. Kissinger, White House national security adviser, at the center of Washington's two big winter flaps—the blown background briefing aboard the Presidential plane and the publication of the so-called Anderson Papers. In the first instance, Kissinger was the chief actor; in the second, he was merely one of those revealed in unbecoming postures when Jack Anderson pulled aside the curtains. Yet maybe the sequence was more than coincidence, for the two incidents had a common element: they were both byproducts of an administration effort, with Kissinger as chief engineer, to manipulate the media in behalf of the President's odd determination to line up with the losers in the India-Pakistan conflict.

INCIDENT NO. 1:

When the President returned in mid-December from his Azores meeting with the President of France, pool reporters on Air Force One engaged Kissinger in discussion, reportedly outside the communal washroom. The result was a statement—to be attributed publicly to no one in particular—that President Nixon might reconsider his trip to Moscow if Moscow did not begin to hold India in check; this was big stuff to be bandying around the water cooler.

There were two ways of looking at this piece of information as a news item, neither of them flattering to the vocation of journalism:

First, it was possible, as the pool reporters claimed, that only tough, persistent questioning had dragged the revelation from Kissinger—which raises the possibility that the item was not news at all but a phantom born in reporters' heads and

then reluctantly given form by Henry Kissinger.

Second, it was more likely that the background session resembled many others in that Kissinger was merely engaged in revealing coyly what he wanted to put out in any case. The *Washington Post*, asserting that it was not bound by the agreement to conceal the backgrounder's identity, promptly identified Kissinger and announced that it would no longer join in such deceptions.

Consternation followed—first, it appeared, because the *Post* had broken the agreement but also because the paper had threatened to break up the whole game. There were straight-faced contentions that government officials, denied the background format, might simply decide to tell reporters nothing at all. Others found amusement in the fact that the *Post* should still be using unattributed information; *Monday*, the Republican newsletter (which seems to believe that the President is running against Eastern newspapers rather than the Democrats), rapped the *Post* for using no names in a story out of Congress.

Such complaints were mere diversions. The controversy was really about one very specific kind of background session. Bill Moyers, former Presidential press secretary, made the distinctions clear in a *New York Times* article Jan. 6. Concern should not center on the use of confidential sources sought out by reporters or on briefings for informational purposes (such as the traditional White House budget sessions), but on the Orwellian huddle where, as Moyers puts it, the official says: "The interests of national security dictate that the lie I am about to tell you not be attributed to me."

Moyers sees little prospect for a change in the system, because both sides—government and press—have found it so useful. But nobody before has called a halt so sharply, and the *Post* may indeed inspire some to reconsider the words of Benjamin Bradlee, that paper's executive editor: "Government is a noble career. So is journalism. They are not the same."

INCIDENT NO. 2:

The documents on official meetings during the brief war represent the pattern of the classic leak. Jack Anderson's sources were anonymous, but

everything else was on the record, and Kissinger suffered the embarrassment of having his public and private words compared.

The Anderson Papers suggest that a new era in government information may have arrived and that, as James Reston has suggested, the photocopying machine has become as fine a news source as any mere official. Indeed, the Xeroxed document has many advantages for newsmen over mere officials. The document does not itself try to manipulate you, nor does it tell you something anonymously one day and issue a denial the next, nor does it claim it was misquoted, nor does it later make a nasty speech about your paper to a party dinner. The document has a great future.

Friends of the press

The same hidden majority in Congress that rescued the press from antitrust laws by approving the Newspaper Preservation Act surfaced again late in 1971. By 50 to 36, the Senate accepted Senator Cranston's amendment to the economic stabilization bill that would have exempted mass-media companies from the current regulations. The Washington Post and the New York Times promptly pointed out that nothing in the First Amendment exempted the press from conducting its business like other businesses. In fact, as Alan Barth noted in the Post [Dec. 9], the issue has seldom been in doubt since the 1930s, when the Associated Press tried, and failed, to demonstrate that the National Labor Relations Act infringed the freedom of the press. The basic situation has not changed. Why did the Senate think otherwise?

P.S. The amendment was dropped in the House-Senate conference on the bill.

Meeting it head-on

Like other corporate institutions, newspapers are often tempted to keep delicate internal problems out of the public eye. The Bingham family of

Louisville, owners of the *Courier-Journal* and the *Times*, has been an honorable exception to the rule, and now it has enhanced its reputation by its handling of a new family crisis.

Only last year, Barry Bingham, Jr., became editor and publisher of the newspapers, when his father stepped up to chairman of the board. But a routine insurance checkup showed something suspicious, and further tests showed that Barry, Jr., had Hodgkin's disease—cancer of the lymph glands. (Two of his brothers, it will be recalled, had died in freak accidents.)

The Binghams decided to print the news immediately. Since then, they have issued memos informing employees about each step in the treatment. When rumors arose that the Binghams would dispose of the papers and their other media properties in Louisville, Barry, Jr., himself issued a denial, noting that the rumors were "based on some speculation that my case might be disabling or fatal." He reported that he had made great progress and added: "My father and I have no intention of selling. . . . If you want to help squelch the rumors and make some money at the same time . . . make a large bet at attractive odds. I will guarantee you against loss and you will make a killing." Clearly, the Binghams' candor is matched only by their courage.

Something of a salute



Here we join belatedly in the good wishes for I. F. Stone, who has terminated his newsletter

after nineteen years for a slightly less strenuous schedule. He outlasted his doubters, and now he collects the praise of those who shuddered to touch a copy of the *Weekly* in the 1950s. We doubt that the change has come about because I. F. Stone has mellowed; maybe it is the rest of us who have changed.

Quote to remember

From a story by Stephen Isaacs of the *Washington Post* [Jan. 30] on *l'affaire* Howard Hughes:

On Dec. 7, 1971, when McGraw-Hill announced hurriedly that it was publishing Hughes' own life story, this reporter asked Donald Wilson, corporate vice president of Time, Inc. (which was, for \$250,000, to run three excerpts of the book in its *Life* magazine), how he was so sure that this was the real item.

"Oh, we're absolutely positive," Wilson confided. "Look, we're dealing with people like McGraw-Hill. And, you know, we're not exactly a movie magazine. This is Time, Inc., and McGraw-Hill talking. We've checked this thing out. We have proof."

A review of reviews

From time to time since 1968, these pages have noted the founding of one local review of journalism or another—usually a newsletter-style publication undertaken by working journalists, informal in format and frequency but surprisingly tenacious in clinging to life. Indeed, among those announced, the only major casualty has been that at Associated Press, where staff members found it too difficult to operate underground. Now that some of these publications are approaching semi-permanence, it seems an appropriate time to pause for a second look at their work. [For a sampler of material from recent issues, see page 27.]

Chicago Journalism Review: Now into its fifth volume, this pioneer has attained a paid circulation of more than 7,000; with the aid of modest

foundation grants and an Internal Revenue Service federal tax exemption, it maintains a small permanent staff. Its most striking achievement to date was its coverage of events flowing from the killing of two Black Panther leaders in 1969, to the indictment of Edward V. Hanrahan, Cook County state's attorney. Moving into 1972, *Chicago Journalism Review* is still a moderately professional-looking publication in a newsletter format of 16 to 24 pages, featuring cartoons by, among others, Bill Mauldin. Its tone is less acrimonious than before, and recent lead pieces have been journalism-review staples rather than politically-oriented articles. Overall, despite its faults, *Chicago Journalism Review* is attaining the look of an established—but not Establishment—publication, with confidence it is being heard.

The Unsatisfied Man: Colorado's journalism review, in its second year, retains an air of collegiate amateurishness. Both appearance and writing tend to be rough and (though the comparison may offend) more superficial than some critiques that the late Gene Cervi ran in his weekly *Journal*. What *TUM* (circulation 1,000) has in plenty is exuberance, vitality, a sense of humor, and a lack of pretentiousness that is an asset.

Hawaii Journalism Review: This low-budget publication (\$200 per issue; circulation 900) has survived for a year on contributions. Journalism in Hawaii does not appear to offer as much scandal as, say, Chicago's, but *HJR* was able to get its teeth into the bizarre case of a TV newsman who was elected to the state senate but decided to resume his old on-the-air job. The senator, Mason Altiery, could not see any conflict of interest, nor could his bosses, but *HJR* helped rally protest (to no avail at this writing).

The Journalists Newsletter: Based in Providence, R.I., this semiannual sheet (circulation 400) has suffered from a makeshift appearance and uncertain publication schedules. But Vol. 3, No. 1 has just been issued, and quarterly publication is being discussed by its sponsors (*Journal* and *Bulletin* reporters). Greater subject range seems essential to its survival.

(*More*): The New York-based review of journalism has little of the co-op informality that



Journalism reviews now published in Chicago, Honolulu, Denver, New York, and Providence, R.I. . . .

characterizes others of the family. It is a business enterprise, owned by its editor, Richard Pollak; its publisher, William Woodward III; and former *Times* reporter J. Anthony Lukas. Its masthead warning ("Nothing in this publication may be reproduced . . .", etc.) is in striking contrast to the openhandedness of the volunteer-staffed reviews. Similarly, its approach to its material is no-nonsense; (*More*) pays well and is starting to get solid articles for its money—Edwin Diamond on the Ellsberg investigation; Chris Welles with a much-needed critique of *Times* business coverage; Joseph Volz of the *Washington Daily News* on the *Washington Post's* ombudsman experiment. (*More*) has something of the air and appearance of the *New York Review of Books*; it appears to be appealing not only to the media community but to the general class periodical-buying public. By January, it reported selling more than 6,500 copies, but was having difficulty finding space on newsstands because of resistance from distributing companies, which have evidently never learned the meaning of the word "access."

Philadelphia Journalism Review: Now in Vol. II, with a circulation of 2,000, *PJR* has survived despite adversity—that is, the displeasure with which the *Evening and Sunday Bulletin* appears to regard participation by its employees. It clings to life, meanwhile, in a journalistic atmosphere that has been somewhat overheated by mayoral politics. *PJR* has a way of rushing head-on at major stories, regardless of the bruises it may receive. An early issue had a poll of *Inquirer* staff members showing mass dissatisfaction. The November, 1971, issue told how the then-

candidate for mayor, Frank L. Rizzo, had come to receive a favorable or acquiescent press. In December, it discussed its troubled relations with the *Bulletin*. Among its siblings *PJR* most resembles the *Chicago Journalism Review*, which led one *Bulletin* editor to wish aloud that Philadelphia had something like (*More*).

St. Louis Journalism Review: Founded in 1970, this review attained instant maturity. Its rather somber newspaper format gives an impression of sobriety, care, thoroughness, and, by comparison with other reviews, dullness. Comparatively minor stories run to considerable length (e.g., 16 column inches for the split skirt worn by the Australian Prime Minister's wife) and in a few issues no major stories seem to have been available. Nonetheless, the review's circulation exceeds 1,000 and it may show staying power.

The Review of Southern California Journalism: Although it has not yet attained the longevity of the other reviews mentioned, this quarterly is listed because it is taking on the media of the vast Los Angeles area. At first glance, it would appear to be a mismatch: the *RSCJ* is a modest effort offered by the Sigma Delta Chi chapter at California State College, Long Beach. One issue gained notoriety for being condemned in *Saturday Review* as pornographically "garnished" (it reproduced a page from a college paper). Its sixteen-page Fall, 1971, issue had an attractive cover, pointed editorial comment, and a varied array of articles—and no porn. Given a chance, it may prosper.

Thorn: Connecticut Valley Media Review: Nothing has come easy for *Thorn*, a publication for the Springfield-Amherst-Holyoke, Mass., area



Journalism reviews now published in Philadelphia, Holyoke, Mass., Los Angeles, St. Paul, and St. Louis.

and points up and down the river. Even before the first issue in June, 1971, the first editor lost his job at the Springfield News. It was almost half a year before *Thorn* gathered its resources for a second effort, which turned out to be much less professional-looking than the first. Circulation is about 1,000, and the publication shows careful attention to the foibles of the area's papers and an interest in local broadcast issues. Can *Thorn* survive? Only the third issue will tell.

It may be hard to generalize about this genre of publications, but these observations are offered:

1) *An unexpected feast.* For those who worked through the quiet Fifties, the new reviews represent an undreamed-of wealth of comment. Once it was hard to find critiques of journalism anywhere but in *Nieman Reports* and the newsmagazine press sections. The thought of a publication devoted entirely to the journalism of, say, Philadelphia, was so remote that the need—let alone the practicality—was scarcely discerned. American journalism is getting a new kind of service from its professionals.

2) *What they say.* Contrary to some expectations, the reviews as a group do not show a strong affinity for the New Journalism, advocacy journalism, or even the "reporter power" movement, although that movement gave rise to some of the reviews. Instead, these publications at their best appear to be doing their muckraking in the context of traditional journalism standards—accuracy, independence, competence. The sharpest barbs are directed against organizational malpractice—notably, the manipulation of stories for commercial, political, or social purposes. An inevitable

result is that managements seem to be portrayed as hardly ever doing anything right, and individual reporters, rarely anything wrong. Some stories seem too shrill. But with all this goes an admirable inclination to take up neglected causes: the student and underground press, abuse of professional integrity, slippery ethical problems.

3) *Conflict of interest.* From the beginning, the reviews have been under the shadow of the charge of employee disloyalty. How can individual journalists work for a company and at the same time criticize it publicly? In practice, this problem has not led to great difficulty, for individuals are rarely, if ever, called upon to assess their own employers in print. More alarming is the apparent over-reaction by some employers who hint at or openly threaten retribution against any employee who cooperates with a local journalism review.

4) *Common faults.* The reviews tend to share the kind of flaws to be expected in novice, volunteer publications. They tend to dwell on minor personal incidents at length; they offer a kind of pseudo-insurgent style in writing that is not always supported in content; and they display lapses in accuracy that leave them open to retaliation from the media they are criticizing. There is no immediate solution for any of these problems—just goodwill and more experience.

5) *Are they a good thing?* The local reviews may not produce immediate change (and they are showing that they may have the patience to wait). For the time being their role may be to raise the consciousness of the journalism community in each of their areas, to point out existing problems, and, as necessary, to nag until the

news media begin to move toward solutions. Not all of them will necessarily survive, but they and their successors should lead to an improved atmosphere for those now entering the profession.

More monitors

Cities that still lack journalism reviews are acquiring them at a rapid rate. Three more are appearing this spring:

—*Buncombe: A Review of Baltimore Journalism*, led by staff members from the *Sunpapers*, but covering all media. The first issue is being offered as an insert in *The Paper*, an alternate-media periodical, but it will be separate thereafter. [Bimonthly; sample copy, 25 cents. Address: 2317 Maryland Avenue, Baltimore, Md. 21218.]

—*TCJR: Twin Cities Journalism Review* began bimonthly publication in February. Its first editor (editorships will rotate) was Robert Protzman of the *St. Paul Dispatch*. Robert Sylvester of the *Catholic Bulletin* is president of the sponsoring Twin Cities Media Project. [Individual copies, 50 cents; annual subscription, \$3. Address: Box 17113, St. Paul, Minn. 55117.]

—The George Washington University chapter of Sigma Delta Chi has set a Washington journalism review for April publication. [Address: Daniel M. Larson, executive editor, 2121 N Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037.]

Meanwhile, journalists in Buffalo, N.Y., and Boston, among other cities, have begun preliminary planning for local reviews. An honorable old title, *CBS Views the Press*, has been revived on CBS radio—though programs are aired only twice a week for four minutes. And Prof. William L. Rivers of Stanford, one of the most prolific writers on the mass media, is now conducting a regular column in the *Progressive*: MONITORING MEDIA.

Darts and laurels

Laurel: to Dan Rather of CBS, for asking real questions in his *Conversation with President Nixon*

on Jan. 2, and overcoming the ever present temptation to be merely chummy or respectful.

Dart: to the New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, for establishing the curious policy of dropping most racial identifications except for stories of "significance" such as crime reports involving two races.

Laurel: to the Minneapolis *Star* for its continuing consumer series, "Your Dollar's Worth." Among the series' services was a microscopic examination of the area's hamburger meat at markets and hamburger stands—down to the last bacterium and insect fragment. In each case, the seller was identified by name and address.

Dart: to the Newspaper Guild, for calling on Congress to continue funding for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. A Guild resolution says that the two projects "seek to lessen tensions between the peoples of the East and West." In fact, they are official propaganda agencies, and the Guild's continuing interest appears to be a hang-over from the days when the Guild itself was involved in Central Intelligence Agency funding. Radio Free Europe employs 284 Guild members.

Laurel: to WNET, New York, for its week-long series, *A Murrow Retrospective*, bringing back to the screen the cream of the Edward R. Murrow-Fred W. Friendly documentaries of the 1950s. The showings were confirmation that, indeed, *See It Now* had a special freshness and energy now rarely attained in TV's riper years—and the time to show them.

Dart: to the same WNET, for its curious postscript to the Murrow-Friendly documentary on Annie Lee Moss, the code clerk accused of Communist affiliations. Without explanation or rebuttal, the station brought on Roy Cohn to state that charges against Mrs. Moss had been affirmed.

Laurel: to the *Wall Street Journal*, for alertly reprinting [Jan. 19], with approval and full credit, Alan Weitz's comprehensive and thoughtful survey of the heroin problem from the *Village Voice*, ancestor of the underground press.

The politics of American newspapers

"Vice President Agnew has succeeded in impressing on a large part of the public . . . that the news media are biased in favor of liberalism." What do surveys show?

BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

■ Shortly after Richard Nixon and Spiro Agnew took office, some *Washington Post* reporters began avoiding conversations with people who sat next to them in airplanes. When they registered at hotels they stopped filling in the space marked "Organization." If someone came right out and asked what they did for a living, at least one of them simply said, "I work in Washington," adopting a favorite euphemism of employees at the Central Intelligence Agency.

Of all the public relations victories of the present Administration, the greatest has been against the presumed experts in the field, the American newspaper establishment. The President's anointed agent, Vice President Agnew, has succeeded in impressing on a large part of the American public and publishers that the news media of this country are biased in favor of liberalism and against

the basic values of the country, and, of course, the Nixon Administration. The chief targets in printed journalism have been the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*. A random selection of businessmen and affluent women flying airliners is likely to make a trip unpleasant for a representative of the *Post* or *Times*, and where once a newspaper connection almost guaranteed a nice hotel room, since 1968 it may turn up a broom closet where the air conditioner doesn't work.

It is not a bad thing that Washington correspondents get into arguments on airliners or have to sleep in an occasional hotbox. They have been getting preferential treatment for a long time because they are journalists, and it is good for their egalitarian souls to learn how the other half of the privileged live.

The irony is that Agnew in one sense is right—the newspapers of this country are out of step with the electorate—but they are massively out of step in the direction opposite to that which Nixon-Agnew claim. The voters of the country, including

Ben Bagdikian, who contributes frequently to the *Review*, is an assistant managing editor of the *Washington Post* and that newspaper's media critic. This article will be part of a book, *The Effete Conspiracy, And Other Crimes by the Press*, to be published by Harper & Row in August.

those in "Middle America," are basically Democratic and not Republican, and at least 50-50 "liberal." The newspapers are overwhelmingly Republican and conservative.

There are about 1,750 daily papers in the country, of which the two most powerful in national policy are the *Post* and the *Times*. They are justifiably singled out for special attention. Their influence is disproportionate partly because they happen to be delivered to important people in the Capital every morning. But that isn't the only reason. They, with all their faults, are better than other papers in their selection of news, completeness of reporting, and knowledge of national social and economic developments. They are more conservative on many issues than their readers; they only appear to be far-out in comparison with their 1,748 daily siblings.

Mr. Agnew has talked about "strident opposition on the front page," has demanded that "a broader spectrum of national opinion should be represented . . .," has condemned "editorialists in Washington and New York . . . their vilification and sarcastic invective . . . learned idiocy," and the "sheer hypocrisy . . . [of] the Eastern media."

As time went on, Mr. Agnew had to extend "Eastern" to a few papers in California, Arkansas, Missouri, and Georgia so that "Eastern," like "Middle American," is no longer a geographical term but ideological. I guess Mr. Agnew has not been reading the average paper in Middle America. It is completely conservative and has no place for "a broader spectrum" of opinion. It is also out of step with its readers.

An important man in the Nixon Administration likes to talk about "the real America west of the Appalachians." The same man, irritated by a group of Washington journalists, said bitterly, "you're all from New York, anyway." None of them happened to be from New York, but it was true that two of them were Jews, which in WASP suburbia is often synonymous with "New York."

Official irritation with the press is inevitable. Stalin probably was irritated from time to time with *Pravda* and *Izvestia*. But political reality calls for some simple facts.

For as long as any living politician can remem-

ber, the daily press has been overwhelmingly Republican. Of American dailies that endorsed a Presidential candidate in the Nixon-Kennedy campaign of 1960, 78 per cent endorsed Nixon. When Nixon ran against Humphrey in 1968, 80 per cent endorsed Nixon. These were not just small papers. Nixon had 82 per cent of daily circulation for him in 1960 and 78 per cent in 1968. And though Nixon people like to castigate the big-city press in contrast to the "real American" papers in the smaller cities, in huge metropolises like Los Angeles, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, and Philadelphia all the major papers were for Nixon.

But maybe Presidential endorsements don't typify a paper's display of ideas day in and day out. Might a conservative paper pick political columnists of the opposite persuasion? Two-thirds of papers that regularly endorse Republican candidates have a preponderance of conservative columnists.

Is it possible that Republican papers might endorse a Republican candidate and pick conservative columnists but are not conservative when it comes to specific issues? Rep. Bob Eckhardt, a Texas Democrat, polled a sample of American dailies and found that two-thirds of the papers that endorsed Republican candidates also supported the conservative position on ABM, the Carswell Supreme Court nomination, the Cambodian invasion, the McGovern-Hatfield antiwar amendment, and Agnew's statement against dissenters.

Congressman Eckhardt found some interesting regional variations. Northeastern papers—remember "the Eastern media?"—were more conservative than—remember "Middle America?"—the Midwest. The Eckhardt survey included the 125 papers in the country that have circulations over 100,000. Two-thirds of these papers answered.

But still, is it possible that newspapers might endorse Republicans, print conservative columnists, editorialize in favor of conservative issues, but still counterbalance this with pro-liberal bias in their news columns? In the mid-Sixties I looked at the current published studies of political bias in the news. There were eighty-four systematic studies that found significant bias. There was a very high correlation between editorial policy and news bias. Of the eighty-four studies of bias,

seventy-four found pro-Republican bias in the news in papers with pro-Republican editorial policies. There were seven instances of pro-Democratic bias in papers with pro-Democratic editorials. Only in three of the eighty-four cases did news bias contradict the editorial position. So where political bias in the news is found it is overwhelmingly—88 per cent—pro-Republican and pro-conservative.

Could it be that where there is pro-Republican bias, perhaps it reflects the values of the readers and voters? The opposite is true.

It has been an article of faith among right-wing theologians that there is a conservative tide in the country, that fear of crime and opposition to racial equality has been successfully mobilized to turn the voters to the right on all issues. The most

"High correlation between editorial policy and news bias . . ."

sensitive measure of the country's practical political feeling is how the people in each of the 435 Congressional districts vote for their member of the House of Representatives every two years. The votes of these Congressmen are tabulated on the basis of conservative and liberal issues and published by *Congressional Quarterly*. (This is a better measure than party affiliation; the Democrats have a clear majority in the House and Senate but some Southern Democrats are more conservative than the most reactionary Republican and some Republicans more liberal than the average Democrat.) In the 1969-70 session of Congress, the conservatives had a slight edge, 54 per cent. But if there is a tide it seems to be going the other way. The 1970 elections shifted the majority to the liberals.

How do the politics of the press compare with the politics of the people at the grassroots, the "real Americans" out there in their home districts?

Using the more conservative Congress of 1969-70, there were representatives from 222 districts that voted more than half the time with the Congressional conservative coalition, an alliance of conservative Republicans and Democrats. If one counts a Nixon endorsement in 1968 as a sign of conservatism in a paper, then the major papers with significant circulation in each of these 222 conservative districts gave their Congressman strong support: these 222 conservative districts had 430 conservative papers and eighty-eight liberal ones (counting, for these purposes, endorsement of Humphrey in 1968 as liberal).

In the same period there were 202 liberal districts. There also, the conservative papers were in the majority: 360, compared to 115 liberal papers. So the conservatives in conservative districts had a 5-to-1 advantage in newspaper support, and conservatives in liberal districts, a 3-to-1 advantage. In neither case were liberal voters, whether in the minority or majority, represented by their share of a politically congenial press. No believer in the First Amendment should expect that newspapers be a mathematical reflection of general public opinion, but the daily press ought to have some relationship to national political values.

The absence of liberal papers among liberal Americans is one of the astonishing facts of media life. In 1968 there were seventy-nine Congressional districts that showed every sign of overwhelming desire by the voters for liberal Democracy: a majority voted against Nixon and Wallace, and a majority voted for a liberal Congressman who delivered liberal votes in Washington. But these seventy-nine districts had no liberal or pro-Democratic papers at all—only 130 pro-Republican ones. There were only five districts that both voted for Nixon or Wallace and elected a conservative Congressman that were served solely by a pro-Humphrey paper.

The conservative press is hardly limited to the Deep South or the farmlands. There are vast wastelands of liberal daily journalism in Southern California, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Detroit, where the metropolitan press dominates the cities while the conservative domain is extended by large conservative chains like Copley and Gannett.

In that purported hotbed of journalistic radi-

Newspaper editorial survey

By U.S. Rep. Bob Eckhardt
(Dem., Texas)

□ In July of 1970 questionnaires were sent to 154 newspapers, including the 125 papers which then had a circulation of over 100,000, and a sample of smaller papers. Responses were received from eighty-four of the larger circulation newspapers and fourteen of the smaller ones, for a total response rate of 64 per cent.

The response pattern by region: Northeast, seven-teen replies of thirty-five questionnaires (49 per

cent); Midwest, twenty-nine replies of forty-one questionnaires (71 per cent); South, thirty-one replies of forty-nine questionnaires (63 per cent); West, twenty-one replies of twenty-nine questionnaires (73 per cent).

In 1956, 76 per cent of the papers responding supported the Republican candidate for President: in 1960, 69 per cent; in 1964, 14 per cent; and in 1968, 68 per cent. The results by region:

	Northeast		Midwest		South		West	
	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.
1956	13.3%	86.7%	11%	89%	32%	68%	12.5%	87.5%
1960	25%	75%	15%	85%	37%	63%	29.4%	70.6%
1964	75%	25%	82%	18%	84%	16%	84.6%	15.4%
1968	35.3%	64.7%	28%	72%	33%	67%	21.1%	78.9%

Six issues were listed, and the papers were asked to indicate their editorial position on each. A conservative editorial position was defined as being for the Antiballistic Missile project (initial passage of Phase I), the Supreme Court nomination of Harrold Carswell, the Cambodian operation initially and after June 30, 1970, and Vice President Agnew's statements on dissenters; and against the McGovern-

Hatfield Amendment to end the Vietnam War. Of the twelve responding newspapers which exhibited a straight Republican endorsement policy, eight followed the conservative editorial patterns; of the fourteen straight Democratic papers, eleven followed the liberal pattern. The results by region (F = For; A = Against):

	Northeast		Midwest		South		West	
	F	A	F	A	F	A	F	A
ABM	55.5%	44.5%	48%	52%	54%	46%	73.7%	26.3%
Carswell	26.7%	73.3%	19%	81%	54%	46%	18.75%	81.25%
Cambodia (initial)	41.2%	58.8%	41%	59%	52%	48%	73.7%	26.3%
Cambodia (After June 30)	46.7%	53.3%	36%	64%	48%	52%	68.75%	31.25%
Agnew	25%	75%	35%	65%	35%	65%	41.2%	58.8%
McGovern-Hatfield	41.67%	58.33%	21%	79%	39%	61%	14.3%	85.7%

calism, New York City, all Congressional districts support liberal-voting Congressmen, but they don't have more than half the papers' support.

A psychojournalistic analysis of the Nixon-Agnew attacks on the media might show that important figures in the Administration grew up on reactionary papers and never knew what a good newspaper was. Southern California, for example, is a study in right-wing journalism, with the Los Angeles *Times* rapidly leaving that tradition. But in the 1950s, when the Nixons and the Halde-mans and the Zieglers and the Kleins were soaking up journalism, all of Southern California was right-wing journalistic territory. Herbert Klein, Nixon's media impresario, was editor of the San Diego *Union*, a Copley property edited by retired

military men for other retired military men. It is a case study in biased journalism.

One reason most publishers have felt sullen under the Agnew attacks is that they believe he's right. They, too, think there is a radic-lib conspiracy among their reporters. The typical American newspaper publisher lives in agony knowing he is paying people to report social developments he doesn't like. In some places he asserts himself and there is no nonsense: the news is pure Republican Party line. In most places the publisher feels restrained because he has a reporters' union or there are powerful Democratic officeholders who might make business trouble for him. There is a tradition of fairness that he doesn't want to be accused of violating, at least

not in public. But when Agnew spoke, hundreds of publishers must have thought, "Spiro, I hear you talking."

The poetic justice of popular antagonism to the press would be amusing if it weren't so sad. Papers that remain close to contemporary political and social values are so rare that a large part of the American population assumes the natural-born function of the daily newspaper is to be a conservative house organ. Conservatives take newspaper support as a birthright. Like most birthrights, this one doesn't arouse gratitude for very long. It evokes emotion only when someone threatens to take it away.

A daily paper that is moderate or liberal strikes conservatives as larceny of an heirloom. On the other hand, the radical left has contempt for daily papers either because the conservative ones are "irrelevant," and therefore a reassuring sign that the system is failing, or because the few liberal ones are "delaying the revolution" by trying to repair the system. So the daily paper finds itself hated by the Right and the Left. People in the middle who elect liberal Congressmen and force

"The politics of the average U.S. daily is an anachronism . . ."

Presidential candidates to hide their conservatism live mainly in cities, where the papers don't do political and social reporting that means much to the average voter. So the paper gets bought largely for the supermarket ads.

But there is another, perhaps deeper implication to the politics of the average American newspaper proprietor. Year after year, the American Newspaper Publishers Association has sent its troops marching up Capitol Hill to ask Congress for special corporate favors, including the Failing Newspaper Bill, which turned into the Newspaper Preservation Act. They succeeded in getting news-

papers exempted from antitrust laws in a number of operations—a favor they obtained at the cost, among other things, of having the Attorney General decide in each case whether to approve. A good paper ought to fire a reporter who asks a news source for a private favor, but the publishers got their favor, and now must line up at the Department of Justice every time they want a corporate monopoly blessing.

The growing epidemic of chains also threatens to trigger action against papers any time the Attorney General decides the chains tend to monopolize. It is unnerving to think how much choice an Administration in Washington has. Chains today enjoy the inattention of the Attorney General, but what inattention the Attorney General gives he also can take away.

The newspaper has put itself under the power of government in ways that the First Amendment would not permit if this were not a corporate matter. There is no reason why a newspaper corporation should be above business law. But by asking special favors, the papers leave themselves in a poor position to complain if, at some later date, the Government seems to be inflicting special pressure on newspaper corporations.

Many newspapers are in further corporate jeopardy from Washington because they own valuable broadcast properties regulated by the Federal Communications Commission. The FCC can accept challenges against existing owners or it can fail to renew a license after three years. The Commission rightfully is hesitant to move against stations for their political views. But there are other corporate ways. It could have been pure coincidence, but shortly after Spiro Agnew attacked the *Washington Post*, a group of President Nixon's friends organized to take away the license of the *Post's* TV station in Florida.

As more newspapers go public, trading their stock and thereby coming under the jurisdiction of the Securities and Exchange Commission, the power of government over newspapers increases. The SEC may bring some much-needed fresh air into the murky finances of newspaper corporations, and one suspects that the requirements of going public force many newspapers to learn the right financial details about their corporations for

the first time. And going public is inevitable for large corporations held by a few individuals. But it is another chink in the armor of journalistic freedom and courage.

The stock of a newspaper can be affected by government attacks, personal or legal. Both the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*, when before the Supreme Court on the Pentagon Papers case, heard Supreme Court justices suggest that criminal action might always be possible. Grand juries apparently considered criminal action—another move greatly influenced by the Executive Branch. An indictment would affect the stock. A conviction of a newspaper corporation of a felony could disqualify it from holding broadcast licenses. Would this enter the minds of owners in considering things like the Pentagon Papers? It would be strange if it did not.

As a result of their corporate activities and the special business favors they have asked of government, a large number of newspapers in this

country are now free to say anything they like against a regime in Washington so long as they are willing to risk losing several millions of dollars. The Nixon-Agnew attacks on the news media are not just playing with words. They are also playing with money. And publishers are in both the word and the money business.

The politics of the average American daily is an anachronism and is meaningless to most of its readers. People buy newspapers for a variety of reasons, including the TV listings, pork chop prices, and comic strips. But the American population is increasingly political and has growing sources of political information. Newspapers are prosperous today, but so were the movies of 1939. At a time when publishers ought to be worrying about moving into the political and economic realities of the last half of the twentieth century, it would be a tragedy if the Administration were to successfully nudge them backward into the nineteenth.

Department
of amateurish
interviewing
(network
branch)

TV 'Evidently' Gets, Uh, an Exclusive

Thomas Breaks His Silence, Sort Of

Dallas running back Duane Thomas, the most silent celebrity since Greta Garbo, chose the final game of the season to break his year-long embargo on words. With a little help from Jim Brown, and CBS announcer Tom Brookshire, Thomas spoke to the world on nationwide television in the Cowboys' locker room following the Super Bowl. Those long-awaited words follow:

Tom Brookshire—Duane, how are you?

Duane Thomas—All right, how are you?

Brookshire—My name is Tom Brookshire, and it's nice to talk to you. Behind you is a fellow that used to run over me for a living, the great Jimmy Brown. How are you, Jim?

Jim Brown—Hi, Tom, how are you?

Brookshire—Duane, uh, you do things with speed but you never hurry, a lot like the great Jim Brown. Uh, you never hurry into a hole, you take your time, shake a spin, yet you still outrun people. Are you that

fast, are you that quick, would you say?

Thomas—Evidently. (Tremendous eruption of laughter.)

Brookshire—Really, I saw a couple of times, I know one time John Niland was fully leading the sweep and he didn't get a good block on it and the fellow was in good position and you simply stepped around him and turned it up the sidelines. Jimmy, maybe you can answer for us. He does have better speed than it appears, don't you think a little bit?

Brown—Well, actually, Duane Thomas is probably the most gifted runner in football today. He's big and he has great speed, it's very obvious, but he has fantastic moves. And I think that he's probably as smart as any football player playing today. So that combination is, you know, fantastic.

Brookshire—It is great, Duane, uh, uh, people don't know you, and I know this is sort of a tight situation . . .

Brown—Are you nervous, Tom?

Brookshire—I'm nervous, I'm

anxious to get the interview, I'm nervous. But what I . . . you like football, you must like this game, because they tell me in practice you run further than anybody else with the ball and all. You must like the game of football.

Thomas—Yeah, I do. I do. That's why I went off in pro football, you know, that's why I am a football player. So that's what I have to live with.

Brookshire—I'll tell you one thing, you're some kind of football player. Pat Summerall commented in the game that he thought you might be bigger than 205. Is 205 accurate, or are you going about 215?

Thomas—Uh, it all depends on what I need.

Brookshire—You mean you weigh in at different weights for different games?

Thomas—Yeah.

Brown—Can I say one thing before we go on?

Brookshire—Surely.

Brown—Duane consented, he feels good today. I think he wanted to win the Super Bowl, he wanted to play

football, he wanted to come back and show the American public that he is a good football player. I think that has been accomplished. I think his silence has enabled him to do this, I think because there was no controversy involved. There was no conflict with his teammates or his coaches. And I think he should be, uh, commended for this. But I don't think he wants to say any more at this particular time. But I think he did want the American public to know that he is a football player and that he did want to win the Super Bowl.

Brookshire—Very good, Jimmy. I'll tell you something else, Dan Reeves says that you make adjustments on your own that are fantastic. You're a good, smart football player, too. Duane, uh, thank you very much and I appreciate it, you hear?

Thomas—Thank you.

Brookshire—Good luck to you, Duane Thomas, one of the great running backs, and we're glad it was done here, he broke the silence.

—Washington Post, Jan. 17.

Federal regulatory agencies exert a powerful influence on American life, yet only a few media organizations attempt "to inform the public about them."

Washington's uncovered power centers

JULES WITCOVER

■ Ralph Nader calls it "regulatory government," and for all but a relative handful of the Washington press corps, it is invisible government as well. In the seven principal regulatory agencies, decisions are made daily that affect the lives of average Americans in ways more direct and personal than are made anywhere else in the federal establishment. But ask most reporters in Washington what the seven are, and it will be mildly surprising if they can name them, let alone tell what they do. If they can state where each is located, and who the chairman is, it will be astonishing.

The seven, created by Congress as independent agencies to administer legislative policies, are involved in every aspect of what is now called consumerism—from truth in advertising to the rates a family must pay for various utilities. In Washington, and among the industries they regulate, the initials are as well known as the full names: CAB, FCC, FMC, FPC, FTC, ICC, and SEC (Civil

Aeronautics Board, Federal Communications Commission, Federal Maritime Commission, Federal Power Commission, Federal Trade Commission, Interstate Commerce Commission, and Securities and Exchange Commission). Other agencies with similar functions abound, but apart from the trade press that covers these agencies primarily to inform industry, only a few of the major newspapers attempt in any continuing and intensive way to inform the public about them.

Until the mid-1960s, when consumerism was no more than a gleam in Nader's eye, the regulatory agencies might have been in Siberia for all the attention they received. By and large, they were considered part of the business or financial beat, the special concern of the *Wall Street Journal*, the *New York Journal of Commerce*, and the financial sections of the *New York Times* and a few other major newspapers. The Associated Press and United Press International traditionally lumped the agencies into other, more important beats on the basis of geography rather than subject matter. Because the ICC and FCC both were then located in the Federal Triangle, a down-

Jules Witcover, of the *Los Angeles Times*, writes regularly from Washington for the *Review*.

town complex of government buildings that also houses the Post Office and Justice Departments, the wire-service beat men covered all four, plus other regulatory agencies that happened to be within walking distance. To this day, the AP still assigns some regulatory agencies on the basis of geography, and, though the FCC has moved, the UPI beat man at Justice still covers the FCC—a holdover arrangement, says UPI's Washington news editor, Grant Dillman, from the old system.

The growth of the agencies, of the businesses they regulate, and of consumer interest has persuaded those news organizations that had been covering the agencies to make a more sensible allocation of manpower. With establishment of the new Department of Transportation, for example, the *Wall Street Journal's* Albert Kaar covers that department, as well as the ICC and CAB; at the *New York Times*, Christopher Lydon is responsible for transportation and communications, covering both the departments and the independent agencies handling related matters. The major papers and wire services now also have consumer affairs reporters, with a mandate to reach into all or most of the departments and regulatory agencies. A few, like the *Washington Star's* Stephen Aug, work the regulatory agencies as a collective beat; he handles FCC, FPC, ICC, CAB, SEC, and the Antitrust Division at Justice.

To most Washington bureaus, however, the regulatory agency remains the place to which you hurriedly dispatch a reporter from some other beat when the lights go out. The same herd-reporting reaction that assures a roomful of reporters for a Cabinet-level press conference is triggered at the FPC by a major power shortage, says information chief William L. Webb. Also, as in most other agencies, a local-angle story—a TV licensing case at the FCC or some action by the FTC against a local manufacturer—brings out the reporter servicing the affected city. All the regulatory agency information men have a procedure for alerting Washington bureaus about such stories; without it, the PIOs insist, most of the stories would never be written, simply because so few Washington bureaus make any routine check on what the agencies are doing, even to the point of picking up the daily press releases.

Nor is there, even among the reporters who staff the agencies, a great deal of serious investigative reporting—digging behind the press releases and the formal decisions to raise basic questions about how those decisions are made and, beyond that, whose interests really are pursued. The public information men attribute this shortcoming in large part to the nature of the regulatory agencies—quasi-judicial in function, deliberative in approach, nonpolitical in outlook. Agency work often is technical, and decisions are couched in legal language. As ICC public information chief Warner Baylor says, "The press needs us. It's specialized stuff, and they need a lot of hand-holding when they first come here."

Also a factor are the closed doors behind which much business is done. "The stuff we work on," says Ted Humes, a Nixon Administration political appointee to the information job at SEC, "is extremely sensitive. It's not secretiveness, but we have a good built-in security apparatus here—a consciousness on the part of Commission members and lawyers. I don't think reporters are missing much by not exercising journalistic enterprise. This is a pretty close-mouthed agency."

Myer Trupp, a veteran information officer at the FMC, says the complexity of the subject matter before regulatory agencies and "a veil of legalism" thrown over their decisions, plus the tremendous volume of paperwork "in which questionable activity can be clothed," make it extremely difficult for the press. David Buswell, another political appointee at FTC, reflects the more traditional view of the government information man: "I get the feeling most reporters tend to prefer to wait [on a particular story] and get the full announcement [of a decision] from the Commission."

Leonard Weinles, the chief information man at FCC, says at his agency, too, reporters "mostly take stuff we give out. There's not that much digging-out here. Almost everything we do comes out eventually. The digging would come not in what the Commission is doing, as in discovering something is amiss in the industry."

The worst coverage of all at the FCC is by the television networks, he says. "The only time they ever cover the Commission is when there's some-

thing of special interest. You have to hit them over the head. Their news operation adds up to one not-so-hot Washington bureau—a Hill man, a State Department man, a White House man, a Pentagon man just skimming the surface." Other PIOs echo this assessment of the networks' regulatory agency coverage.

A dissenter on the matter of general FCC coverage, however, is the chairman, Dean Burch. "This place is a sieve," he says, "especially with the trade press. They are extremely tough—embarrassingly so. Anybody who wants to know what's going on around here and subscribes to the trade press can know, pretty much." The daily press digs, too, he says, but does not spend the time to develop sources that trade press reporters do.

One of the most experienced and successful reporters in the regulatory agency field, Louis M. Kohlmeier of the *Wall Street Journal*, says there probably is less investigative reporting in the agencies than on most beats, but he disagrees with the PIOs on the reason for it. "I don't think what the FCC does is any more complex than what any Executive Branch department does," says Kohlmeier, winner of a Pulitzer Prize for his examination, made largely through FCC sources, of President Johnson's financial holdings. "I don't think the regulation of television stations is any more complex than Agriculture Department regulation or what the Department of Transportation is doing to make sense out of the general mess of transportation problems."

Rather, says Kohlmeier, who now covers the Supreme Court, the lack of digging in the regulatory agencies stems from failure by most of the Washington press to really recognize how important regulatory action has become. "As we get out of thinking of them as small, inconsequential agencies, there will be more," he says. Already, Nader and other consumer advocates have gotten that message across, Kohlmeier says. "It's the entire consumer movement and the unfolding realization that these agencies have a helluva lot more to do with consumerism than any other segment. Consumerism has been essentially a rebellion against shoddy products and practices, and when anyone gets very far into it, he discovers that

government has a responsibility, and has had for fifty years—or eighty-five years (1887) in the case of the ICC."

At the same time, Kohlmeier says, the spotlight of consumerism has made most regulatory agencies less open than before. "When nobody was paying a great deal of attention, access to key staff people was better. They weren't uptight; there was not as much politics riding on what they did, and not as much Presidential and Congressional interest." The agencies always have been less political than Executive departments, he adds, and they probably still are. "While the staff people are more cautious than they used to be, the average staff guy is not as conscious of the political ramifications of what he says as is the average executive staff person.

"Reporting in Washington still concentrates as it traditionally has on politics—on Congress and the White House. It's entirely logical but it tends to ignore that increasingly Congress has enacted shelter-type legislation—it outlines a problem and hands the problem in effect to a bureaucracy and gives it rule-making powers. The net result is that vast amounts of real power are vested in the administrative bureaucracy—to grant or withdraw subsidies, to tell a company it can or cannot present a product or an advertising pitch. . . ."

Over the years, Kohlmeier points out, there has been a struggle between the Executive departments and the regulatory agencies over this assigned power. As far back as 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt tried to establish control over the FTC by demanding the resignation of commissioner William E. Humphrey, not on grounds authorized by Congress of "inefficiency, neglect of duty, or malfeasance in office," but because "the aims and purposes of the Administration with respect to the work of the Commission can be carried out most effectively with the personnel of my selection." In a fight that went to the Supreme Court, Roosevelt lost his argument that creation of the FTC outside his direction violated the constitutional vesting of executive power in him. In less direct ways ever since, the battle has been going on—largely unreported.

In the transportation field especially, Kohlmeier notes, the last three administrations have

tried, against the will of Congress, to substantially trim the ICC's authority, and members of the ICC have been speaking around the country defending their independence. "It has been reported in its pieces," Kohlmeier says, "but not put together. But does the Washington press normally put together, normally write about, very important developments and trends? Before the Washington press tackles a subject like the very fundamental conflict between the President and the independent agencies over formation of policy in the consumer regulation field, I would expect Washington reporters to look deeply into the problems in the independent agencies more easily

*"Without PR men,
most stories would
never be written . . ."*

defined, like regulation of the natural gas industry by the FTC—why exploration of natural gas has declined ever since the FTC tried to regulate consumer prices."

Even more basically, Kohlmeier says, the press needs to examine whether the regulatory agency in the era of consumerism regulates in the public interest, or in the vested interest of industries it regulates. On the matters of TV licensing, the allocation of spectrum space, and the growth of cable TV, he says, the FCC's attitude "is a beautiful example of the habitual inclination of regulatory agencies to protect the vested interests of those aligning against CATV. It's a technological breakthrough—TV by wire—that offers the consumer many more channels than he can get with over-the-air TV. The FCC's major concern has been protection of existing TV stations. This area of conflict between CATV and commercial TV has not been focused on. The press has written the stories almost as if CATV had no relationship to commercial TV. Yet it's clearly a question of competition."

One member of the FCC who has tried to focus attention on the role of the Commission as a protector of the vested interests, Nicholas Johnson, is among the most outspoken critics of press coverage of his and the other regulatory agencies. He says the press errs in spending most of its time covering "pseudo-events"—press conferences, briefings, speeches, and other occurrences staged by the Government—thereby spreading itself too thin to do significant enterprise reporting. "Even if I were the *New York Times*," he says, "I'm not sure I'd send anybody to a Presidential press conference or speech. How many guys have to fly around in planes with the President for four years?" A cost-effectiveness analysis on the average Washington bureau's coverage of "pseudo-events" would force it to admit that it does very little real digging, Johnson contends. Still, he says, there are enough major news bureaus in Washington to cover the regulatory agencies, even if they had to resort to pooling and making all stories available to members of the pool.

Those news organizations that do cover the FCC, Johnson charges, too often do so by simply describing what is in the majority reports—"like reporting what Joe McCarthy said without saying what he said in the past." The story that needs to be reported about the FCC, he says, "is the manner in which, and the cases to which, the industry exerts its will in this town—and not only in the FCC." There is no doubt, he adds, that the regulatory agencies represent the vested interests; "the question is how much is done, and how." The attitudes of both commission members and staff members—including hostility toward public-interest groups that increasingly are seeking their say before the agencies—are proper areas of examination for the press that are being largely ignored, he believes.

Nader concedes that consumerism has brought about improvements in coverage of the regulatory agencies—he cites, for instance, the naming of pharmaceutical and cosmetic firms that violate health standards—but he agrees with Kohlmeier and Johnson about the general lack of investigative reporting. He notes such work as that of the *Washington Post's* Morton Mintz in the food and drug field, but says that "for all the controversy

over auto safety, in the last two years I can't remember one investigative effort by the press" in that area. Nader blames editors who won't assign a reporter and give him time to dig unless they have strong assurance a major story will result.

"Editors don't assign unless they smell something," he says. "They don't want to make a commitment and take the chance of coming up with nothing." Another reason, Nader says, is that newspapers have such a fixation about politics that there is little room for consumer news.

Kohlmeier adds that Washington bureaus, with a few exceptions, have not adjusted to the import of consumerism, in that they continue to approach regulatory stories as essentially business-interest stories, or as candidates for the women's or food pages. The *Star's* Aug says editors too often still don't see stories as consumer pieces unless the dollar impact on the housewife can be clearly

"Ralph Nader would create four areas of concentration . . ."

identified. If it can, he says, it is much easier to get a story prominently into the main section.

Max Frankel, Washington bureau chief of the New York *Times*, agrees. On the *Times*, he says, it has become axiomatic that "if you can sell a story as a consumer story you can get it on page 1." The problem, he says, is truly comprehending the regulatory agency story and its impact in terms of the consumer; increasingly, it is necessary to find that focus in the community for which the newspaper is printed. Washington bureaus, he says, are so used to looking at the federal bureaucracy in terms of power relationships that they "get too lost in the official ramifications," handicapping themselves in grasping and projecting a story from the reader-consumer viewpoint.

To cope with this problem, Frankel says, his Washington bureau works with New York-based

Times consumer specialists, attempting to use the bureau's expertise in government to explain what the effect of the decisions will be, with the local specialists saying what they mean to consumers in New York and around the country. "The notion of having one guy take up the cudgels of consumerism, almost Nader-like, is not necessarily productive," he says. Rather, he believes that the challenge is to blend the paper's talents, in Washington and in New York, to provide the most pertinent and instructive story. To that end, the *Times* has a fulltime consumer affairs reporter in Washington, John Morris, and also specialists like Christopher Lydon and Eileen Shanahan covering both executive departments and regulatory agencies. "But I don't think any of us has licked it," Frankel says, "especially on the Washington end."

Nader agrees that the *Times'* approach is a sensible way to cover the regulatory agencies. He would create four areas of concentration—health and safety, energy, transportation, and communication. A paper, he says, ought to have a specialist on the rate-making process as it pertains to railroads and the various utilities, from phones to power.

Johnson says if he were an editor he would send a man to the FCC to do "psychological reporting—to try to get a feel for the subculture of the FCC; how people show their loyalty to the vested interests rather than to the FCC. Who talks to whom? Staff research—what gets on the Commission agenda and what doesn't? How often is the Commission getting faced with a *fait accompli*? What do the young lawyers do? You've got to find the dissenters."

Why, Johnson asks, is a reporter considered objective if he covers a regulatory agency from the industry point of view, but biased if he does so from the consumer point of view? Should a reporter be a consumer advocate? "Not necessarily," he says. "But he shouldn't be a big-business advocate. Maybe he ought to write a story for the business page and then another one reflecting the consumer angle. If a reporter really covers the news at the FCC, he's going to wind up a consumer advocate, because he's going to report on how the FCC is controlled by the business inter-

ests. And people are going to be saying, 'My, isn't he a biased reporter.' No, he isn't. He's reporting what goes on here." (Burch, predictably, disagrees that the press reports from the viewpoint of the industry. He calls Johnson an "aberration" who gets publicity because of "the man biting dog thing"—his reputation as a champion of the consumer against big industry.)

Johnson contends consumer news can be sold to editors by driving home how huge the regulatory government has become, and how directly it affects readers. "These guys understand money," he says. "Show them the multibillion-dollar impact of any of these industries. The broadcasting industry grosses nearly \$4 billion alone, and the telephone company \$17 billion. Add all these agencies together; this is a helluva big chunk of the economy—in economic terms, and in terms of their impact on individuals. Every American is more affected personally by TV policy and by the setting of gas rates than by the devaluation of the dollar and the import charge on a Toyota."

Steve Aug, speaking from the newsman's point

of view, puts more succinctly the justification for more press attention to the regulatory agencies: "It's there to get, there isn't any doubt about it." As an example, in 1969 and early 1970, he found in SEC records the basis for stories on the sale of Penn Central railroad stock by its officials, and in advance of the scandal that later erupted he wrote of private meetings between Penn Central officials and SEC members.

Still, as Alan L. Otten, Washington bureau chief of the *Wall Street Journal*, says, the regulatory agencies remain the unglamorous beats in Washington—"the place to put the new guy," who "after a year is beating you on the head to go up to the Hill or somewhere else." Perhaps with the arrival of a new generation of reporters that attitude will change. For more than any other segment of the Washington establishment, the federal regulatory agencies offer the newcomer an opportunity to delve into the public-interest issues that command the special attention and concern of this generation—and should engage greater attention from us all.

Which
caption
did you
read?



—Washington Post, Dec. 2, 1971.



—New York Times, Dec. 2, 1971.

In the Fifties, with anti-press sentiment high, Britain established a panel to act on citizen complaints. How does it function? A 'CJR' interview.

Why the British Press Council works

NOEL S. PAUL

Foreigners who study the British Press Council usually come away in a mixed mood of admiration and bafflement. It ought not to work, they feel, but somehow it does.

—Vincent S. Jones,
Former executive editor,
Gannett Newspapers;
Former president, American
Society of Newspaper Editors.

When and why was the British Press Council formed?

The Council was formed as a result of public dissatisfaction after World War II with the performance of the press, particularly in regard to matters which could not be resolved satisfactorily by legislation. This dissatisfaction led to the appointment of a Royal Commission in 1947 to inquire into the conduct of the press. The Royal Commission's writ extended to the question of monopoly ownership, but it was largely concerned with the issue of complaints, and it recommended the formation of the Press Council, with a lay membership element. The National Union of Journalists—the strongest union representing

working journalists—had for some years been advocating formation of a press council, and of course supported the recommendations of the Royal Commission. There was political support as well for those recommendations, and the report was welcomed by the Government. Nevertheless this report, which was issued in 1949, did face some opposition among newspaper publishers, and it was not until 1953 that the Press Council was formed—and then without a lay element.

What was the nature of the public dissatisfaction with the press?

The dissatisfaction was very largely concerned with issues of political bias and allegations of intrusion into privacy. Neither of these fields, curiously enough, has really been a major field of complaint since the formation of the Press Council.

Were high political figures in Britain involved in the criticism, somewhat as high political figures in the U.S. have been here?

They certainly were. A number of political figures were very active critics of the press, and it was

Noel S. Paul, a former newspaper editor, is Secretary of the British Press Council.

felt that they would have preferred to have some sort of body which would have comparatively small press representation.

Did the political criticism of the press seem to die once the Council was formed?

It moderated, but I wouldn't say it died. There was still criticism of the fact that the Council had no lay element.

Would the publishers, in your view, have consented to formation of the Press Council had an adverse climate not prevailed?

Certainly not so readily, and it is quite possible that they would not have done so at all. There was considerable editorial feeling that this would constitute interference with the editor's right to publish what he thought fit.

What form did they suggest this interference might take?

They thought that the Council would interfere with the way in which the newspapers treated controversial subjects. In fact, this has turned out not to be one of the functions of the Press Council, the Council having devoted its attentions to ethical improprieties and not to matters of opinion. It entirely recognizes the right of an editor to have his own opinions and to express them.

How were publishers who opposed the Council idea brought around to accept it?

It was very largely done by propaganda on the part of those who favored formation of a press council. This included, of course, the trade unions, but it also included editors and a few enlightened publishers. They were successful in persuading the doubters that the experiment was worthwhile, in the face of the political threats which existed at the time.

Would you describe the composition of the Council?

As originally formed, the Council represented solely the press organizations and editorial unions

of the newspaper industry. Periodicals were not involved in the Press Council and there was no lay representation. There was a parttime Secretary, a man of considerable repute in British journalism, who dealt with the complaints, and slowly the procedures were developed in consultation with the senior members of the Council.

How did the addition of lay, or public, members come about?

The change came about very largely because a second Royal Commission which examined, among other things, the functioning of the Press Council, reasserted the importance of a lay element, and called upon the Press Council to implement the original recommendations. The report of this Commission, known as the Shawcross Commission, also received the warm approval of Parliament, and the Press Council responded by instituting lay representation. There was still some opposition to lay membership, but support from the unions was very strong.

How are members of the Council chosen?

The professional members are nominated by their organizations, in an agreed proportion, so many seats being allotted to each organization. The organizations are the Newspaper Publishers Association, representing the publishers of the national newspapers in Britain; the Newspaper Society, which represents the owners of provincial newspapers; the Guild of British Newspaper Editors, representing broadly provincial newspaper editors; the Scottish Newspaper Proprietors' Association and the Scottish Daily Newspaper Society, which are the Scottish equivalents of the rather similarly named British organizations; the National Union of Journalists, the larger trade union; and the Institute of Journalists, the smaller trade union. Additionally, since 1963 the Periodical Publishers Association has become a member.

How are the lay members chosen?

The laymen are selected according to personal qualifications, by the Council as a body. They are nominated by individual Council members. The professional members are nominated every

three years, and are eligible for an indefinite number of three-year periods. Some have been on the Council since it started. In the case of lay members, there is an understanding that a lay member shall not serve for more than two consecutive terms of three years.

How is the Council financed?

The Council is supported by determining what budget is required to run it, then requesting this sum from the member organizations as a body. The member organizations determine among themselves the proportions they will contribute. The current budget is about 27,000 pounds [\$70,000] annually.

Is there any difficulty raising this?

There is difficulty sometimes in persuading the organizations that this amount will be necessary in order to run the organization. But in general terms, once the agreement is made, the undertaking is loyally carried out.

How large a permanent staff does the Council have?

There are three executives and two clerical workers.

How does the Council handle complaints?

The general principle is that inquiries will be made by correspondence concerning any complaint received from any member of the public. The results of that inquiry will be presented to an editor for his comments, and the editor's comments will also be investigated by the Secretariat. The resulting product will be presented in documentary form to the Council for consideration.

A very large number of complaints come to an early end, for various reasons. Quite a number can be explained by the Secretariat staff, which is comprised of experienced journalists who know the practices of newspapers and have a full understanding of the issues involved but are not in any way concerned with defending newspapers. They endeavor to give impartial views. It is a requirement of the Council that any complainant

must, in the first instance, write to the editor of the newspaper against which he is making a complaint. The result of this, and the knowledge that the complainant may go to the Press Council, is that an editor is likely to treat seriously a complaint he receives in this form, and very often the complaint is settled in correspondence between the editor and the complainant. It may be, for instance, that an editor will publish a correction or an apology and thus settle the matter, or he may explain the newspaper's action.

If that fails, what is the next step?

The next step is that the Secretariat consider in broad terms the merits of the complaint. This is not to deny the complainant access to the Council, but to determine what sort of inquiries should be made in order to establish the facts. It is open to the Secretariat to decide that a complaint is possibly not of sufficient substance to warrant adjudication by the Council, in which case the Secretary has authority to submit the matter directly to the Complaints Committee of the Council for its consideration, without the editor being called upon to respond to the complaint.

Are a large share of complaints settled this way, with the editor never troubled further?

A fairly substantial number are settled in this way—but not as many as are settled by explanation and persuasion by the Secretariat in correspondence with the complainant.

If the complaint still has not been settled what is the next step?

The Secretariat will satisfy itself that it has all the facts necessary for an explanation of the complaint against the newspaper, and will then present this information by correspondence to the editor and invite his comments. On receipt of the editor's comments, the Secretariat will make any further investigations necessary. It must be stressed that at this stage, great care is taken to ensure that any journalist who is personally involved has an ample opportunity to present his views and produce any statements he wishes.

The Secretariat must decide whether there is

a possibility that proper consideration of the complaint will require hearing oral evidence. In difficult cases, the Secretary may consult with the Chairman in order to reach a decision, or he may himself make the decision to invite witnesses informally to give evidence to the Complaints Committee of the Council.

The Secretary provides the Complaints Committee with the written statement of the com-

"Greater respect for accepting self-criticism . . ."

plaint and the evidence he has collected, and the members review this document before they assemble at their monthly meeting to consider the complaint and, in appropriate cases, to hear any witnesses.

Once the Committee has considered the matter, then what happens?

The Complaints Committee has executive authority to dispose of complaints which do not warrant adjudication by the Council, on the grounds that they are trivial or unreasonably delayed. Otherwise, the Committee prepares a draft adjudication which becomes a recommendation.

The Council, having decided its attitude toward the recommendation made by the Complaints Committee—and it can refer the matter back to the Committee—then directs the Secretary to convey the adjudication of the Council, in words which the Council itself has chosen, to the parties to the complaint. The Secretary has the duty simultaneously to send to the parties an account of the complaint, in the form of a news story which is also distributed to the news media.

Is there a requirement that findings of the Council be published in the paper involved?

There is a moral requirement that this be done,

and in practice that requirement is fulfilled. In the entire history of the Council, now extending to eighteen years, there have only been five occasions on which adverse adjudications have not been published by the newspapers concerned. Two of these occurred early in the days of the first Council, when the Council itself was still a highly controversial subject, and two of the others involved minor papers. One case was undoubtedly due to a misunderstanding of the import of the Council's adjudication.

What percentage of findings have been in favor of the press?

Probably the percentage is something like 75 per cent in favor of newspapers.

This would seem to indicate that the Council does not, as some opponents feared, tend to undermine confidence in the press.

That is so. It has to be remembered that the Council has three functions. One is maintaining freedom of the press in the public interest, not in the commercial interest of the press. It has always been the view of the Press Council that the press is capable of looking after its own commercial interests, but the maintenance of the free press is a matter of public concern. Another function of the Council is to keep a watchful eye on pending legislation which may involve interference with the performance of the press, and to make representations in appropriate quarters to ensure that press interests do not suffer in this context. The third function is the hearing of complaints by members of the public.

Could you give an example of a time when the Council came to the defense of the press?

Perhaps an outstanding example was in connection with the Aberfan disaster in 1966, when a great many schoolchildren were killed by a landslide in Wales. The Attorney General stated in the House of Commons that it might be contempt of court if the press interviewed witnesses to the disaster while an official committee of inquiry into the disaster was pending. His view was challenged in the House of Commons, but it

was endorsed by the then Prime Minister. The Press Council immediately challenged the legal authenticity of the view expressed and issued a statement declaring that the press was fully entitled to conduct the interviews. It followed this up with a detailed legal examination of the issues involved and circulated a booklet to every member of Parliament and every member of the House of Lords, to all the appropriate government departments, and to other interested organizations, in order to put forward its view that an official government committee should inquire into the law of contempt in relation to these official inquiries. The result was that eventually the Government appointed the Salmon Committee, sitting under Lord Justice Salmon, and the Committee completely vindicated the Press Council's view and proposed some changes.

Would you give an example of the press's monitoring pending legislation?

There was recently in the United Kingdom a prosecution of a journalist for a breach of the Official Secrets Act, in receiving from a very senior retired Army officer a confidential report on the civil war in Nigeria. The journalist was acquitted, but in the decision the judge heavily criticized the Official Secrets Act and said that half of it should be disposed of. The result has been that the Government has appointed a committee to inquire into amending the act, and the Press Council has given evidence to this committee. The Council also has given evidence at great length—including oral evidence—to a special committee examining proposals for legislation to protect the privacy of the individual. On this scale, this is a new subject in Britain, which has virtually no privacy legislation because its place is very largely taken by much more stringent laws of defamation than exist in the United States.

Would advocacy of legislation involve issues such as postal rate increases?

No, not unless the increases were obviously punitively directed against the press. It is not a function of the Press Council to protect the com-

mercial interests of the press. This function is performed quite adequately by the publishers associations. But the Council can and does step in on occasions when legislation involves some new restriction on reporting, on the right of the press to have information, and, for instance, in such a case as recent legislation relating to "pirate" radio stations established on ships outside the territorial limits, where the original form of the legislation would have resulted in objectionable restrictions upon the right of the press to discuss the issues involved.

In the Council's deliberations, do the professional members and the lay members sometimes line up with their respective groups on issues, or is there special pleading by any professional association?

I have never seen a lineup of that kind in the Council. It simply does not occur. It has been a feature of the Council that the lay members in particular are absorbed into the general character of the Council as a body.

What are the Chairman's functions?

The Chairman's function lies mainly in the art of chairmanship, but his personal authority and standing in the community, with the guarantees of integrity that go with it, are of tremendous importance to the status of the Council.

Opponents of the press council idea in this country often assert that the Council can interfere with the freedom of editors and publishers. How do you respond to that?

There is no surrender whatsoever of any freedom of action on the part of any editor. All he has to suffer is free comment by the Council.

Why, from an editor's standpoint, should he subject himself even to that?

He has been enjoying a luxury he is scarcely entitled to, because he is the first person to assert his right to comment upon the activities of other people.

In practice, can you demonstrate that he gains much more than he loses through the existence of the Press Council?

Demonstrations of that kind are always difficult, but I think it is certain that the reputation of the press has been very greatly enhanced, not only by the existence of a Press Council, but even more by the acceptance of the Council's role by editors on a very wide basis indeed.

Another objection is that a council might become a sounding board for, or become paralyzed by, activist pressure groups. Has this been a problem in Britain?

It has not been a problem, and it has not developed. A pressure group has occasionally made a representation to the Council, and it has been dealt with on its merits, but the matter has not arisen as a problem of persistent criticism.

In a political campaign can this become a problem?

It certainly hasn't been. In political campaigns, there is naturally an increased sensitivity on the part of politicians to criticism which they regard as unfair, and to lack of impartiality, but it is no more than that, which is to be expected.

Do complaints about unfairness in the press increase enough during a political campaign to burden the Council?

There is a very slight increase, in view of the topicality of the issues, but no serious burden.

Opponents of the idea of a press council in the U.S. also suggest that it would increase the number of trivial and crank complaints that editors must deal with. Has this been your experience?

No. I think in fact the Press Council acts as quite a substantial buffer against this kind of criticism. It is normally a requirement of the Council that before any complaint can be considered the complainant must write to an editor,

but in the most trivial kind of complaint it is obvious that the Secretariat will endeavor to persuade the complainant that he is under a misapprehension in believing that he has a viable complaint. If he is successful in doing this, then the editor is likely to hear no more of the matter.

There are cases where the trivial complaint proceeds to a further stage, and this is when the editor has failed to satisfy the complainant, who returns to the Press Council. The Secretary may be in a position to persuade him that there is no merit in the complaint, or alternatively, may use his authority to submit directly to the Complaints Committee, without further reference to the editor, his suggestion that the complaint may not warrant adjudication by the Council and therefore need not be put to the editor. Editors frequently acknowledge that they are happy the Press Council has dealt satisfactorily with some complaints that they knew were in the offing.

Another point of opposition is that the Council could complicate the newspaper's position in a delicate legal case. How do you respond to this?

It would clearly be intolerable to expect any editor to cooperate with a press council if there was any risk of his response to the council's inquiries being used against him in some subsequent legal action. This is the reason the Council requires a complainant to sign a pledge not to proceed at law against the newspaper or its agents, in consideration of the editor's publishing any adjudication made by the Press Council. This constitutes a legally enforceable agreement between the complainant and the newspaper editor.

Has a complaint ever gone to court and, after a court adjudication, then come to the Press Council seeking further action?

Yes, but it is a very rare event, and is not likely in most cases to be a worthwhile exercise.

Is it possible that existence of a U.S. press council might result in a disproportionate number of complaints against papers such as the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*,

Los Angeles *Times*, and others which seem especially concerned about high standards?

It is possibly true that newspapers of this kind might attract fairly numerous complaints because they are likely to have a critical and intellectual readership. But this should be a matter for satisfaction in that it should impel them to improve their standards. The *Times* of London does seem to get more complaints than the popular newspapers. But not a very large proportion are upheld. Probably about the same proportion that I have already mentioned—something like 25 per cent—or possibly lower. I would say that the stature of newspapers is enhanced by the activities of the Press Council.

The Hutchins Commission (1947) and other groups have suggested that a press council should make a general assessment of press performance. Does the British Press Council do this?

No, and I think it would be very careful to keep away from this area, which amounts to a critique of the editorial role of the press. The Council is concerned with the ethical propriety of press activities.

The Press Council does not handle complaints against broadcast media. Why?

We do not have in Britain the same structure of television and radio as you have in the United States. There are only the BBC and ITA (Independent Television Authority) and their affiliates. No body has been set up to deal with complaints against the BBC or the program companies licensed by the ITA on an independent basis comparable to the Press Council. Demands that a body of some sort should be set up have not been silenced by the recent appointment by the BBC of a semi-independent board of three to hear complaints and the nomination of an internal committee by the ITA to achieve the same purpose.

In your opinion, has the existence of the Council had any effect on editorial staffs?

I'm quite sure that it has, and this is freely acknowledged by editors. It is now a commonplace for past decisions of the Press Council to be borne in mind when editorial decisions are made on ethical issues which arise in the day-to-day running of a newspaper.

Is there any way of measuring whether public attitudes toward the press have changed since creation of the Press Council?

This is very difficult to measure, but I think there is reason to believe there is a greater respect for the press, by reason of its acceptance of this kind of self-criticism.

Does the Press Council today ever get accused of being an apologist for the press?

Occasionally.

How do you respond to that?

We bear it. The Press Council is quite prepared to endure public criticism. It would, in fact, rather be the subject of controversial debate than be ignored. And it is very often the subject of critical comment in the United Kingdom *Press Gazette*, which is the professional newspaper of journalism, published in London. Nevertheless, all the adjudications of the Press Council are published by that journal.

Would you say, then, that the future of the British Press Council is secure?

I think it has won acceptance generally, both in the esteem of the public and of the press. There will always be ample work to be done. The press always will be under some sort of pressure which requires the constant watchfulness of a body such as the Press Council.

**Voice of
the Ewaiswnts**

—AP broadcast
wire, Jan. 3.

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The New Press Critics

NO. 2

SUPPLEMENT TO COLUMBIA JOURNALISM REVIEW

MARCH/APRIL, 1972

On Ethics

TV Anchorman, State Senator, But Not Both?

GERRY KEIR

Hawaii Journalism Review

Mason Altiery used to be a TV newsman hereabouts. Which was fine. Some years back, he got off that horse and climbed on the Democratic Party donkey, first as a patronage appointee (for Rep. Patsy Mink and then, in turn, for Mayor Frank F. Fasi) and, second, by getting himself elected as a Democrat to the State Senate. Which was also fine.

Last month, it was announced that Mason was remounting his old journalistic steed. He was to begin work Sept. 1 as an on-the-air newsman for KHVH-TV. Which might still have been fine—except that he didn't trade in his partisan Democratic burro in the process.

That struck some of us as unfortunate, since keeping properly astride those two animals—in midstream or

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Los Angeles' 'Times': Good, Why Not Great?

JAKE HIGHTON

Review of Southern California Journalism

Attention publishers, if you want to gain national recognition for your newspaper, try this:

First put out a paper that is so bad that honest newsmen and discerning readers go out of their way to sneer at it. Slant your news columns to favor the Republican Party. Suppress stories that reflect poorly on your sacred cows. Ignore what's going on in the world outside your community.

Then do an abrupt about-face. Banish propaganda from your news pages. Go in for interpretive stories on complex national and international problems. Assemble a stable of Washington and overseas correspondents.

Suddenly, critics will be falling over themselves to praise your newspaper—even if it isn't that great.

That's the scenario for the Los Angeles *Times'* rise from rag to recognition.

During the 1940s and 1950s the *Times* was reactionary, self-serving, and provincial, a shameless house organ for the Republican Party. During the 1952 presidential campaign, when Richard Nixon's slush fund was making headlines across the country, the *Times* first ignored the story, then used it to defend Nixon.

During a gubernatorial campaign in 1954 the *Times* ballyhooed GOP incumbent Goodwin Knight's dramatic plea for the oil refineries to close during a period of heavy smog. But when Knight's Democratic opponent pointed out that the governor had the power under the state's anti-pollution law not merely to beg the refineries to close, but to order them to, the *Times* didn't print the story.

Today all that biased *Times* journalism has become only an embarrassing memory. Otis Chandler, succeeding his father Norman as publisher in 1960, wrought a metamorphosis. The *Times* today is honest, national, prestigious, and anything but provincial with 18 foreign correspondents. It also leads the nation in ad lineage and, with a million

(Continued on page 30)

State Senator and TV Anchorman...

(Continued from page 27)

elsewhere—is some trick. Therefore, in mid-August, a tiny band of reporters (known ostentatiously as the "Hawaii Capitol Correspondents Association") complained about it.

With the unanimous consent of the available membership—namely, Doug Boswell and I of the *Advertiser*; Buck Donham and Gregg Kakesako of the *Star-Bulletin*; Jack Kellner, late of KGMB; Ken Kashiwahara, late of KHVH, now of KGMB; Byron Baker of KHVH, Bill Bigelow of KHON; and Charles Stubblefield of ETV—we issued a statement deploring the then-imminent development.

We asked Mason and KHVH to call off the deal to preserve the image of the "news community." Our rhetorical punch missed.

A day later, Altiery responded with a statement in his own defense, as did his boss, KHVH President Lawrence S. Berger. (Altiery said it is "simply not true" that his new job entails a conflict of interest; Berger admitted that Altiery "has a de facto conflict of interest" . . . which says something about communications gaps in the communications business.)

On Sept. 1, Altiery went to work for KHVH.

On the question of conflict-of-interest, I bow in part to Sen. Altiery's position. I do not agree fully, but it is a gray area subject to argument at least.

For instance, one "conflict"—although not an "economic" conflict in Altiery's terms—arose Sept. 13 when Altiery attended a caucus of Democratic senators. Gov. John A. Burns informed the senators of two pending court appointments, as well as his intention to name George Pai as the new Attorney General.

Burns' office released the names of the court appointees later that day, but withheld the information on Pai. The *Advertiser*, and later the *Star-Bulletin*, got Pai's name from Senate sources and used it.

But KHVH news did not, although its anchorman Altiery knew of it. I am not suggesting that Altiery should have used the information. But the incident serves to illustrate the role-conflict inherent in Altiery's two jobs and the difficult tightrope which Altiery and KHVH Political Editor Byron Baker will be walking.

Even without the question of a "conflict of interest," however de-

fined, enough other disturbing factors exist.

1) It is said that Altiery, a Democrat, will not be involved in reporting on local news but will limit his work to world and national news. There are, as I recall, still political parties in Washington and a Presidential campaign just getting under way. Altiery writes and edits his own copy, thereby playing a central role in coverage of those activities.

2) Altiery will not be on the air during the time when he is campaigning for office himself. When does the campaign begin? How much

Credit: In striving mightily to pat itself on the back, *The Unsatisfied Man* has lost its balance.

TUM shouldn't take sole credit for convincing the *Denver Post* to print "advertisement" at the top of each page in its special advertising sections. But that's what TUM did in its November issue. Some of the credit for bringing about the change should be shared by the much-maligned *Denver Post* Ethics Committee.

The "advertisement" label isn't a fully satisfying—or fully accurate—way to deal with advertiser-supplied puff material. But TUM should recognize that it was the *Post* Ethics Committee which first raised the possibility of labeling, and that the committee continually has criticized the policy of letting self-interest copy masquerade as news.

We on the committee would like to think our face-to-face meetings have had some effect in getting *Post* management to pay more attention to issues such as this. Admittedly, our list of accomplishments isn't great, but at least TUM might have added a note or two about the Ethics Committee in its song of self-praise.

FRED BROWN
Staff Writer
Denver Post

—*The Unsatisfied Man*,
January, 1972

money will an opponent need to spend to get the same exposure that Altiery earns along with his salary?

But to my mind and to Altiery's the crux of the matter is what Altiery refers to as "the noneconomic question of journalistic bias . . . which is a danger to which all reporters are subject, whether they be senators or not."

Hear, hear. While we all strive for objectivity, it is clear that that goal is largely unreachable as long as the news is gathered by people. But I would suggest that the point must be expanded: It is important that we be as unbiased as possible. It is equally important that the public believe this to be the case.

No matter how unbiased the news media are, we aren't worth a damn if people think of us as partisan advocates. And there are those, Vice Presidents and Mayors included, who do their best to promote the idea that news-mongers are unreliable, unbelievable, self-serving conspirators.

The danger of that kind of public notion is heightened, I think, when a Democratic State Senator gets plunked into the middle of the news picture as a reporter.

The old union aphorism about "an injury to one is an injury to all" applies here. People seldom differentiate between news outlets when they criticize the press. TV newsmen know how seldom the public remembers which reporter works for which station; newspaper reporters are forever explaining which side of the *Tiser-Star-Bull* fence they work on.

Therefore, if the credibility of KHVH as a news outlet suffers, we all suffer.

How is the presence of Altiery on the tube going to affect the way in which people react to a Byron Baker piece on the Senate? Can Altiery lead into a critical film report on the President without laying himself and the station open to criticism, no matter how undeserved?

The list of questions is longer than the list of answers. I must stick by the statement contained in our original protest:

"We do not question the integrity or motives of either Senator Altiery or the station. However, placing a partisan elected official on a news program adversely affects the image of journalism itself."

—October, 1971

Gerry Keir is political writer for the Honolulu *Advertiser*.

Freeburg Resigns

M.E.'s Walkout Rocks Trib Tower: Reform Faltering?

DAN ROTTENBERG

Chicago Journalism Review

For his first two years as editor of the *Chicago Tribune*, Clayton Kirkpatrick talked about massive changes he planned to make. Then at the end of 1970 he brought Russell Freeburg in from the Washington bureau to turn words into action.

In his new role as managing editor Freeburg, a twenty-one-year *Tribune* veteran, delivered rapidly. He created the Task Force, a team of four reporters who do nothing but dig into complex stories that other outlets don't have time to examine. He got rid of the mandatory daily eight-column banner headline, creating a flexible front page that is more likely to reflect what is important than *Trib* front pages of the past. He started *Accion Rapida*, a Spanish-language version of the *Action Express* reader service column. And he made noticeable strides in removing the pomposity and innuendo that had characterized the *Tribune*.

But on the night of Dec. 29, 1971, Freeburg walked into the *Chicago Tribune* office with his wife, typed out a brief memo to the staff, signed it and posted it in the *Trib* city room:

I have resigned today as managing editor. I want to thank each and everyone on the *Tribune* staff for the wonderful support and friendship that was given me throughout the year. It will always be remembered. I hope for a short time this year I brought some sense of change and excitement. I apologize that the flame died so quickly.

When any institution—especially a highly profitable one like the *Tribune*—tries to change its image to adjust to changing times, the move is bound to meet resistance from officers, stockholders and old-time staff members who have grown fat and happy with a formula that worked for some fifty years. The changes wrought over the past three years by editor Clayton Kirkpatrick at what used to be the world's stodgiest newspaper are all the more remarkable because of the pressure he has been under from corporate management and veteran staff members on one hand and from young reporters

who feel he isn't moving quickly enough on the other. The departure of Freeburg only a year after he assumed the managing editorship was the first public indication that the concept of change is still being resisted at corporate levels.

Freeburg told *CJR* that one of the factors that led to his resignation was a feeling he sensed in corporate management that he was moving too fast. "I felt there was increasing pressure from corporate management," he said. "I was never exactly sure who or what, but I felt it. There's nothing sinister involved, and it's not something I'm bitter about. It's just a matter of a difference of opinion. This paper will accomplish eventually what I wanted to accomplish, but we had different timetables. I felt that as long as our changes weren't meeting resistance from readers we might as well go ahead with more."

Freeburg wouldn't elaborate on the source of the resistance, but it's understood that Harold Grumhaus, *Tribune* chairman and publisher, and S. R. Cook, executive vice president and general manager, have been the *Trib's* leading opponents of rapid change. Freeburg had nothing but kind words for Kirkpatrick, and in fact he said his problems at the *Trib*

by themselves wouldn't have caused him to leave. The other factor contributing to his resignation was his family's unhappiness in the Chicago area: His two teenage daughters lived virtually their entire lives in Washington and were anxious to go back. Freeburg, forty-eight, says that's what he'll do, although he has no job lined up.

Freeburg's successor, Maxwell McCrohon, is best known as a makeup man, and *Trib* readers can expect to see more changes in the paper's physical appearance under his leadership. Under McCrohon, *Chicago Today* became by far the best-looking newspaper in Chicago and one of the most eye-pleasing in the nation, even if its contents never lived up to its packaging. At the *Trib* McCrohon will have better financial resources and a larger staff than he did at *Today*, and the *Trib's* elevation of city editor David Halvorsen to a newly created post as assistant managing editor will wisely take the responsibility for local news coverage from McCrohon's shoulders.

In short, Kirkpatrick seems determined to keep alive the flame that Freeburg felt might have died with his departure. Two days after Freeburg left, Kirkpatrick posted a five-page staff memo listing twenty-seven editorial innovations made at the *Trib* since 1965; twelve of them, he noted, took place in 1971. "This list," he wrote in the memo, "is an honest reflection of our continuing efforts for excellence," an implication that he was more concerned about winning over the young turks on the *Tribune* staff than the Old Guard on the *Tribune* board.

—February, 1972

Dan Rottenberg, a former "Wall Street Journal" reporter, is managing editor of "Chicago Journalism Review."

Smooth is as smoothies say. Handout from our Dept. of Agriculture Sept. 30 read as follows: "According to a report from Homer Maxey, State Emergency Food shipment Coordinator in Vancouver, the loading of the Californian in the Canadian port is going smoothly, except for a mechanical failure which has caused a day's delay in loading. (Italics ours.)"

—Hawaii Journalism Review, November, 1971

LA 'Times': Good, Not Great...

(Continued from page 27)

readers, trails only the New York *Daily News* and the *Wall Street Journal* in U.S. daily circulation.

Newspaper watchers grew ecstatic. *Newsweek*, in a 1967 cover story, hailed Chandler for staging "one of the most remarkable revolutions in U.S. journalism, transforming the *Times* into one of the nation's top papers." *Harper's*, in December, 1969, went further, calling the *Times* "America's biggest newspaper, and possibly the best."

Undeniably, the *Times* is one of the nation's best newspapers. But it can be called great only by comparison with what it once was. It still has a long way to go before it can be ranked with the few American newspapers that are generally recognized as great—the New York *Times* and the *Wall Street Journal*, for example.

The Los Angeles *Times*' turnaround is impressive evidence that bad newspapers can be salvaged. But a reader of the Los Angeles *Times* is struck as much by its schizophrenia as by its excellence. Its sharp contrasts between the classy and the massy are staggering—and appalling.

George Reasons starts an exposé of corruption in Los Angeles city government—and triggers a 1969 Pulitzer Prize. Yet a women's page writer prattles, "It was Ann Ward who masterminded the party. She ordered the moon, the stars, the sky, and the magnificent surf. What more could one want?"

Architecture critic John Pastier blisters the Los Angeles Civic Center as "a strong contender for the title of America's worst complex of public buildings and public spaces." Yet the same real estate section that carries his column runs such puffery as this: "The Californian apartment community, opening today in Tustin, seeks to satisfy the individual's need for privacy and his desire for convenient recreation simultaneously."

Paul Conrad, the *Times*' brilliant editorial cartoonist, trenchantly portrays Congressional efforts to bail out the Penn Central Railroad as "The Great Train Robbery." But the same page carries a flabby editorial on the same subject that uses hundreds of words to reach this observation: "However the question is decided, the lawmakers should not allow themselves to lose sight of the fact that the real problem is to get at the underlying economic factors which brought about this crisis."

Theater Critic Dan Sullivan bravely labels a work of a black playwright presented by the Watts Writers Workshop as a bad play. But a similar amount of space is given over to sports columnist Jim Murray, who writes with more manner than matter, informing readers that Gerry Kramer "didn't really play for Green Bay, he played for sick bay. He was a traveling accident, not a pulling guard. He was either in a three-point stance—or an oxygen tent. He played left catastrophe."

The *Times* has some of the best critics on American newspapers—Charles Champlin on movies, Dan Sullivan on theater, and Martin Bernheimer on music. They are tough and demanding, insisting on excellence and eschewing flackery. They write



good think pieces in the Sunday arts section. Yet the *Times*' Sunday magazine ("West") is third-rate. Its articles are thin and noncontroversial, merely glue for the ads. Fifty-two issues of "West" aren't worth one of the New York *Times* magazine.

The classy-massy split follows wherever you turn in the *Times*, and associate editor Robert Donovan suggests it has to be that way because of the character of the Los Angeles area. Thus he defends the Joyce Haber column. "In a community like Los Angeles there's a big hole in our paper if we don't have a lively Hollywood columnist." And he says the *Times* has no interest in being a paper of record, like the New York *Times*. "We are headed in another direction," says Donovan. "The paper of record concept is unrealistic. We want to hit the important things with more force—do more special articles, takeouts, and exclusive stories."

The *Times* is already doing that routinely and well. On a recent Sunday, Joe Alex Morris, Jr., was writing

from Rotterdam on the conservative backlash among Dutch Catholics; David F. Belknap from Montevideo on the Uruguayan political situation; Donald Bremner from Hong Kong on the army being in the saddle in China's provinces; and William Tuohy from Ankara on the Turkish political crises. This solid and informed reportage was casually scattered throughout the 4.5 pounds of the Sunday package.

But with abundance of deep background copy, the *Times* doesn't print as much hard news as the New York *Times* or *Washington Post*, each with ten to twenty-five more live news columns daily. The *Times* doesn't blanket the big stories with sidebars, charts, maps, and speech texts as the New York *Times* does.

The paper wastes eight columns of prime space (page 2, front section) on a briefs page—boilings of local, national, and world news. This means that stories treated fully in the New York *Times* are briefed in the Los Angeles *Times*. In July when a Missouri state representative was slain, the Los Angeles *Times* briefed it. The New York *Times* ran a 13-inch story.

Space problems are aggravated by a lack of tight writing and editing. Many stories run to absurd lengths. "The old quip about the *Times* being edited with a shovel still holds true," says Jack Lyle, UCLA journalism professor. "They seem to be working desperately to fill it." One acerbic *Times* deskman grumbles every time a fifteen-page story is dropped in front of him, "Christ, the Book of Matthew isn't that long." The copydesk is discouraged from trimming copy produced by the paper's regular byliners.

Space problems aren't helped by some curious news judgment. When President Nixon held a state dinner for former Mexican President Diaz Ordaz, the *Times* filled five columns with the names of all 660 guests.

Still, after all the head-shaking over the mixture of excellence and crap—the blend of Ochs and Hearst—an objective observer must admit that the *Times* is a damn good newspaper.

Top-notch personnel is Otis Chandler's great nonsecret. He got it by paying top prices. His editors wooed major byliners by offering them \$20,000 and up, luring such Pulitzer Prize winners as Jack Nelson, who won his at the *Atlanta Constitution*, Ed Guthman (Seattle *Times*), and cartoonist Paul Conrad (Denver *Post*). The *Times* won a Pulitzer of its own for its coverage of the 1965 Watts riot, and metropolitan editor Bill Thomas

Noo Yawk

Why Heartland America Hates Noo Yawk

By Jane O'Reallynow

"....Here there was no sparkling hum of activity; only the sound of dull Midwestern women, relieving themselves..."

Last May my son Jonny and I each drew a picture called "My House." My picture included a porch and trees and a family standing in a tulip bed. His house was a picture of a 14-story apartment building with an addict slumped at the curb. That disparity made me feel guilty, so last month I took him on a mommy's tour of the heartland, over the Rockies and into Baltimore, down to the Great Plains and west to the Mississippi River delta region. We were strangers in a strange land.

On the plane to Denver, a passenger from Cedar Rapids, Iowa, told me what's wrong with the country. "It's the spics and niggers and hippies and Jews who are ruining everything," he said, his Adam's apple vibrating against his starched collar. "Them and the Catholics and Protestants." Nor was his attitude atypical; indeed, both of the people I spoke with on my cross-country tour shared his views. The irony of ironies—that Iowa boasts of being the home state of Abraham Lincoln, who freed the blacks in 1492—apparently didn't occur to my self-righteous fellow passenger.

Everywhere we went in Minneapolis and again in its sister city, Indianapolis, we confronted the sheer emptiness of people content with a lifetime of dreariness. By habit they have chained themselves to repetitious, mind-eroding factory jobs; the

idea of becoming a free-lance writer and doing articles about how great Noo Yawkehs are is beyond their conception, and it shows in their conversation: The most stimulating thing these people did while I was there was to sit around drawing nonsensical pictures titled "My House."

During dinner we shared a table with two other families. The other people chewed silently, not speaking even to each other—the impenetrable complacency of absolute dullness. "Why are they staring at us?" whispered Jonny. "Is it because we look different from everyone else?" In Noo Yawk there are two thousand people in Central Park every day who look exactly like us, but in Indianapolis, Missouri, we were different and not just because of the needle tracks in our arms. "Don't worry, Jonny," I reassured him. "Wait 'til I get back to my typewriter. We'll show the bastards."

Noo Yawkehs don't know their own strength. When we went to pick up our rent-a-car, the office girl greeted us with sugary salutations and chitchat about the weather—the automatic exchange of meaningless pleasantries that passes for intellectual stimulation in heartland America. I told her, in a perfectly ordinary tone of voice that I use for perfectly ordinary business in New York, "Cut the bullshit.

Where's my fucking car?" She blanched, cringed, wiped away a tear, said, "You must be from New York City," and gave me a free car, probably her own, although maybe it wasn't.

But I had had enough. In a ladies' room on the Ohio Turnpike, just east of Seattle, I was suddenly overcome by the sound of the silence there. Here there were no addicts shooting up, no dykes soliciting dates, no young girls experiencing the first joys of pot, none of the sparkling hum of activity that can be found in any ladies' room in Noo Yawk. Instead, there was only the sterile, tinkling sound of dull Midwestern women, relieving themselves.

I don't want to get any letters from Columbus, Ohio, about this, pointing out the factual errors of what I have written here. I am not writing this for Columbus, Ohio. I am writing this for us—for the Noo Yawkehs who have never been West of the Hudson, who know what the rest of the country is like without having seen it and will therefore accept what I have to say. We know we're better than the rest of the country, and I'll tell you why: Because, as I learned on my trip, we're the only ones who know the meaning of tolerance. Where else but in Noo Yawk would an editor have the guts to publish an article like this one? DAN ROTTENBERG

—Chicago Journalism Review, October, 1971

(Continued from previous page)

is widely regarded as one of the better newsmen in the country.

Quantity as well as quality of personnel has been upgraded. In 1960 the *Times* had a three-man Washington bureau and one overseas correspondent. Today it has eighteen Washington staff members, eighteen world correspondents, and domestic bureaus in Sacramento (three people), San Francisco (two), New York (three), Chicago (three), Atlanta (one), and Houston (one). The editorial department was expanded from 220 people in 1960 to more than 500 a decade later, in the same period its budget increased from \$3 million to more than \$12 million.

With such resources, the *Times* covers the news better and more fully than all but two or three papers in the U.S. It stresses quality reporting,

going beyond the breaking news to focus on emerging trends and situations. Such reporting requires time, and *Times* staffers get it. Reporter Dave Felton roamed Haight-Ashbury for a month to record the hippie scene; George Reasons spent six months on his exposé of local corruption.

Each day the *Times* runs front-page articles by its staff members on world, national, and local affairs. These stories are a hallmark of a superior paper—one willing to spend time and money to produce quality copy.

In fact, the *Times* covers the news well enough that a New Yorker visiting Los Angeles feels no compulsion to read the New York *Times*, as he does in most other cities of America. But the Los Angeles *Times* is hardly "one of the world's great newspapers," as its Sunday nameplate

proclaims. It has too much of Buffum, Haber, and Dear Abby for that—and they are likely to remain, for there are some things the paper has no intention of changing.

"I think we have come a long way, but we have a long way to go," says Robert Donovan. "We are going to investigate more, and there'll be a gradual expansion of foreign coverage. But we are still a mass newspaper, and we are going to be a mass newspaper for a long time to come."

—Spring, 1971

Jake Highton, who teaches journalism at Wayne State University in Detroit, worked on the Los Angeles *"Times"* copydesk for two summers. His article, in longer form, first appeared in *"Chicago Journalism Review."*

Death of a Story

Mayor Rizzo's 'Good' Press: Et, Tu, "Philadelphia"?

RAY HOLTON

Philadelphia Journalism Review

One theory about the killing of that investigative story on Frank Rizzo at *Philadelphia* magazine last fall was that the magazine's publisher, D. Herbert Lipson, hoped he could swing some personal influence with the next mayor of Philadelphia.

That theory was given a boost last month when the mayor-elect named Lipson the head of a twelve-man, super-elite committee of the city's banking and business titans—who also hope to swing some personal influence with the Big Bambino.

The committee will advise Rizzo on how to expand the business community in Philadelphia.

Although Lipson's magazine chose to kill the Rizzo story written by Greg Walter—who quit and went to the *Evening Bulletin*—parts of the controversial article were summarized in December's issue of (*More*), a journalism review published in New York.

The issue contained a story written by Joe McGinniss, former *Inquirer* columnist turned author. In a review of the decision to kill the Rizzo story, he said Walter's forty-page exposé "overflowed with allegations (against Rizzo) of racism, brutality, and corruption."

The Walter article, according to McGinniss, contains allegations that:

—Rizzo altered police records

when he was police commissioner in 1970 to prevent a federal judge from seeing evidence of race discrimination in the department's employment records.

—Rizzo has close personal and financial connections with city night club owners who are "heavily involved in the city's drug traffic and prostitution."

—Rizzo, on some occasions, physically intimidated members of the Philadelphia press, and threatened a TV news director.

Rizzo must have sighed with relief after Walter's article was killed at *Philadelphia* magazine, but according to McGinniss the new mayor was still worried about the article appearing.

McGinniss reports that Rizzo telephoned *Bulletin* executive city editor Sam Boyle in an attempt to discredit the newspaper's new, high-priced investigative reporter. Rizzo told Boyle his staff had been ordered not to answer Walter's queries and that Rizzo himself would refuse to be interviewed by Walter.

Advertising Department	
PUBLICITY REQUEST	
Date: 10/13/71	
To: Ruth Mutchach, Homicide Advertiser	
FOR: Kress	
(Name of advertiser)	
SUBJECT: Kress West to hold Christmas Merchandise meeting for 13 Kress Jewel stores.	
Oct. 22-23;	
See attached copy	
Any photos included? <input type="checkbox"/> No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Completed Request	
for Photographic Assignment form attached	
DISPOSITION	USE-ONLY
<input type="checkbox"/> Not needed	CONTACT: Paula Dobos, Kress.
<input type="checkbox"/> Needed	Downloaded 10/13/71
NOTE: IN CASE ALL INFORMATION POSSIBLE ACCOMPANIES THIS REQUEST	
Name: Ray Holton	
Approved by: [Signature]	

This publicity request apparently did not fall on totally deaf ears. A story and picture across four columns appeared Oct. 19 on Page C-6 of the *Advertiser*. Copy passed as "news" said that Kress' new downtown store is sporting a new look. The "reporter" did contact the store manager, who passed on the news that the store will sell aloha shirts "price to \$17.99 and muumuus to \$29.99."

—Hawaii Journalism Review,
November, 1971

But Rizzo was spared again when the *Bulletin* did not publish any major part of Walter's article before the Nov. 2 election.

The controversial story now sits in Walter's personal safe. He considers the story a "dead issue at this point," but is following up on the story's contents while working out of his frosted glass-partitioned office in the *Bulletin* newsroom.

If the public wants to see the Rizzo story it won't get any help from the *Evening Bulletin*, whose managing editor, George R. Packard, offered *PJR* an explanation of why the story hasn't been published in his newspaper [see memo]. The explanation, he told *PJR*, had to be run in its entirety because "PJR has misquoted me in the past."

—January, 1972

Ray Holton is a reporter for the Philadelphia *Inquirer*.

For Phila. Journalism Review	November 9, 1971
On condition that all of the statement or none of it is used.	
We were very pleased to have Greg Walter, a prize-winning investigative reporter, join the <i>Bulletin's</i> staff in October. He has already contributed some good stories, most notably a major beat over the <i>Inquirer</i> and <i>Daily News</i> with his story of Joe Rizzo's examination problems.	
The story he allegedly wrote for <i>Philadelphia Magazine</i> on candidate Rizzo was the property of that magazine.	
Information and leads to other news stories which Greg Walter may come up with will of course be checked out and will undoubtedly result in further articles. It goes without saying that we did not suppress any provable facts that the public was entitled to know during the election campaign.	
At the risk of sounding very pompous, we do not believe in "composite journalism" and will not print allegations, innuendo or suggestive material that is not thoroughly grounded in probable fact.	
[Signature]	

A Question of Coverage

Cable TV: Can Bidders Be Watchdogs?

Chicago Journalism Review

"Every other city's cable TV arrangement has been a fiasco," says Chicago Alderman Paul Wigoda, and he's right. And when government actions end in fiasco, it's usually because the news media have failed to keep the public informed through astute, critical coverage. The case of cable TV is no exception, and in this case there's a very obvious reason for the lethargy: Many of the media are shooting for a piece of the cable action themselves.

The arrival of cable will affect every radio and TV network and station, but it will also affect newspapers: In the not-too-distant future all newspapers will be transmitted through cable TV sets, and the publisher who doesn't have access to a cable channel may find himself out of business. Thus the scramble is on among media people for franchises (broadcasters now own 36 per cent of the existing cable franchises, newspaper publishers 8 per cent). In the midst of this scrambling it's not surprising that the media are less than anxious to tell what they're doing.

The Chicago suburb of Elmwood Park, for example, was recently saddled with a twenty-year franchise agreement that requires only one channel for public use. True, the franchise was granted on a nonexclusive basis, which means the town can invite other companies to lay cable if the current operator doesn't perform satisfactorily, but the economics of cable TV is such that no company would venture into a situation where competition already exists. Why didn't residents protest this arrangement? Well, the franchise operator is Lerner Communications, a sister to Lerner Newspapers, which publishes the local paper in Elmwood Park. Not surprisingly, the paper carried no critical coverage of the award.

Similarly, Chicago's northern suburbs have been trying to devise a regional model ordinance, but it, too, has received scant coverage from the Lerner group, whose newspapers blanket the area.

"We played the cable TV story absolutely straight in Elmwood Park," says Louis Lerner, head of the Lerner complex. He notes that his newspaper chain and his cable TV operation are separate corporations and thus only minimally involved with each other. He concedes, though, that it's unlikely that a Lerner cable

operation would be attacked in a Lerner newspaper.

Even newspapers that aren't presently competing for cable franchises usually say as little as they can on the subject. Like a football coach between seasons, they figure they'll be entering the arena at some time in the future and are reluctant to tip their strategy or alert prospective rivals to the need for early preparation.

It isn't only cable coverage that suffers when a news medium jumps into the franchise ring. The publisher or broadcaster who seeks a franchise puts himself at the tender mercies of his local city council, thus voluntarily surrendering the independence from government control that most publishers are constantly reminding us is the great bastion of the American system. Three Chicago neighborhood publishers—Lerner, *Chicago Courier*,

and the *Southtown Economist* chain—are in the running for franchises.

Lerner points, correctly, to the fact that since he applied for a Chicago cable franchise his newspapers have opposed the Mayor's plan for a lake-front stadium, opposed the Park District's treatment of Indians occupying a park site, and were first with the controversial report that State's Attorney Ed Hanrahan would be indicted for his handling of a fatal 1969 raid on a Black Panther apartment. Thus it can hardly be said that Lerner is trying to curry favor with City Hall through his newspapers. But the effects of such a situation are far more subtle. When a reporter knows that his publisher is seeking a lucrative city franchise, and when the reporter simultaneously sees his newspaper cutting back on personnel in periods of economic softness, who is to say how these observations will subconsciously mute his coverage? At the very least, a hard-nosed investigative reporter will avoid subjects (like cable TV) that directly involve his publisher's interests.

Concern over increasing entanglements by the news media moved the Federal Communications Commission to rule that as of April, 1973, it will prohibit TV stations from operating cable systems within a station's broadcasting area and will prohibit networks from operating cable systems at all. The FCC also indicated it may move to bar cable ownership by newspapers and radio stations. By working toward separation of ownership of newspapers, broadcasting stations, and cable operations, the FCC appears to be trying to provide some semblance of the diversity of viewpoints that the media used to provide by themselves.

The heavy hand of government regulation may be a mixed blessing, but some of the media insist on making government supervision look attractive in contrast to their own practices. The city of Buffalo, N.Y., for example, recently awarded a cable TV franchise to a local daily newspaper without holding a public hearing. Few Buffalonians know for sure how the city justified its action, because Buffalo's press didn't say a word on the subject.

—August, 1971

It was more than a year ago that the *Chicago Daily News* killed an article by Diane Monk about the National Consumers Union, a group of housewives who criticize and picket supermarkets. *CJR* speculated [June, 1970] that the *News* was being overly protective toward its supermarket advertisers, and *CJR* published the story in full. Now comes the news that as the result of that exposure, Monk's article will be included in *People and the City*, a series of reading textbooks to be published shortly by Scott, Foresman & Co. In other words, the article the *Daily News* felt didn't deserve exposure to Chicagoans will soon be standard reading material for most of the city's ninth graders.

—Chicago Journalism Review,
July, 1971

News Space, News Space, Our Kingdom for More News Space

Philadelphia Journalism Review

Philadelphia's newspapers can hire the best editors, the finest reporters, the most imaginative photographers, but it's not going to mean very much to the city if there's no space in the papers to display their talents.

Usually, inadequate space is blamed on lack of advertisers to support a larger newshole but this is not a satisfactory excuse for Philadelphia's newspapers.

The three daily papers already have a sufficiently large newshole to provide top-flight coverage of this city, if not the nation and the world. But this space is being squandered on sports, women's news, comics, and canned (syndicated) columns and features. As a *PJR* survey shows, less than half of the total newshole goes to general news and only 10 per cent goes to local news.

We at *PJR* are not so pompous or relentlessly serious as to believe these special sections have no place in our newspapers. We're only questioning the balance.

We can't believe women's news should get more space than local hard news when large segments of

this city with desperate problems go ignored until the tensions explode, forcing the press to take notice.

We refuse to condone a situation in which the comics, on some days, take up more space than local news or get three to four times more space than foreign news.

We don't know why these priorities have been set. We do know they are wrong.

A newspaper's greatness, its service to its community, is not determined by its comics or sports pages or even its editorials. It is determined by the depth and quality of coverage it gives to the local community and the important events taking place there, in the nation and in the world.

National and foreign coverage could be improved by using knowledgeable staff reporters to analyze these events or expand on wire coverage. It seems almost immoral that

Philadelphians see the world only through the eyes of a few wire or special service reporters. Even setting up foreign bureaus is feasible with a wise reallocation of resources—but that would be a luxury.

We realize that making such improvements at a time when local coverage is in such a sad state would in itself be an improper priority. But the papers could make a decided improvement in general news coverage—local, national, and foreign—by doing nothing more than making the space available for the material already being produced by staff reporters and by the myriad of wire and special news services the papers already subscribe to.

Initially, we call on the three dailies to add one page to the general newshole. There are many ways to accomplish this. Getting rid of one page of comics would be the easiest. If this is a distasteful project, perhaps two columns could be lifted from the editorial, women's, sports, and financial pages for a total of eight. Getting rid of canned features and columns might do the whole job in one swoop.

What we're really asking is that management give journalists the space to do their job the way it should be done. Do that and Philadelphia journalism will be something we can be proud of.

—August, 1971

Local Innovation

Chicago 'Tribune' Seeks Story Behind Story

BERNICE BURESH

Chicago Journalism Review

There was a time when the Chicago *Tribune* found it difficult even to acknowledge the existence of other newspapers in Chicago. But times are changing.

Casey Banas, editor of the *Tribune's* "Perspective" section, wrote a lengthy analysis Nov. 28 of the handling of a front-page "scoop" by the *Trib's* morning competitor, the *Sun-Times*, which on Nov. 19 reported that Michael Bakalis, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, was about to announce a new plan to desegregate Illinois public schools. Bakalis for several days charged that the story contained major errors. He

accused the paper of being irresponsible and complained that it would take weeks to clarify the situation.

Banas' levelheaded analysis described events leading up to the *Sun-Times* story and how the story itself was treated by Chicago papers. The Banas piece was notable in that it eschewed the coyness and innuendo which Chicago papers usually use when referring to each other; he even interviewed Burnell Heinecke, the *Sun-Times* reporter who wrote the controversial story.

Banas says he was told to do the analysis by Clayton Kirkpatrick, *Tribune* editor, who mentioned as an example of the kind of story he wanted, the "News Business" columns started by the Washington Post in 1970. In those columns Richard Harwood and lately other Post staff members have attempted to evaluate problems and

controversies in news coverage.

Kirkpatrick says he has seen the Post pieces, but that they were not what caused him to order the Bakalis analysis. "I was curious myself what happened—whether there was an attempt to stage manage a news event," he says.

Whatever the reason for the story, it seems to be the first time that a Chicago newspaper has devoted that much energy to the story behind a news story. Heinecke jokes that the *Tribune* analysis "is a plot to kill off the *CJR*." It would be a welcome plot. If the media did a better job of keeping tabs on each other, there would be no need for *CJR*.

—January, 1972

Bernice Buresh, a member of "CJR's" editorial board, is a Chicago correspondent for "Newsweek."

31-Second Misunderstanding

NBC Too Short, Too Flip

BOB WERNET

Hawaii Journalism Review

One man's set of facts is another man's source of fiction. In news reporting, however, the two don't jell. NBC News apparently thinks differently.

On April 9, six prisoners escaped from the City and County jail at Halawa. The Police Department reacted immediately with roadblocks, searches, warnings, appeals, mug shots, and manpower.

On April 10, the first of the six escapees was quietly arrested.

On April 11, police finally pinpointed three other escapees in Kahala, and at around 5 p.m. placed them under arrest. Later that same evening, another escapee was noticed and arrested.

So, as of midnight, April 11, five of the six escapees were back in the hands of police. After all that, police relaxed somewhat because the five they captured were admittedly the most dangerous of the six.

During those two preceding days, as many as 200 police prepared themselves for the worst. William Medeiros was quoted over the police

radio late Friday night as having said he'd shoot any cop on sight.

Those of us who closely followed the events from escape to capture would probably not describe them as melodramatic. There were life-and-death factors involved: the Medeiros threat; the admitted possibility of a shoot-out a la Earl Lum; the repeated police classification that these men were desperate and dangerous. Police protection for three local judges was provided immediately, and for three key witnesses protection was increased.

Throughout the hours from Friday night until Sunday evening, the climate around town was charged with anxious expectation. Newsmen almost were expecting to cover the shooting of police and escapees. The story was anything but routine, even for the police beat.

Given all that, the treatment of the

story nationally on the NBC *Nightly News* for Monday, April 12 was ludicrous, in addition to being factually erroneous on three counts, and guilty of oversimplification and distortion throughout, apparently for the purely emotional sake of bringing a smile to the faces of Mainland audiences. Had NBC's writers read UPI's dispatches more for substance than humor, their superficial, misleading account would not have been aired.

David Brinkley read the story on camera. It took him thirty-one seconds, not including the smile at the end.

In Honolulu, yesterday, six desperadoes broke out of jail, armed and threatening to kill any policemen they saw. And the police issued a warning saying these men are desperate.

Today, five of the six meekly and quietly turned themselves in and were put back in jail . . . one of those awaiting trial for a triple murder. His mother said she hoped the public would not condemn him. She added, as only a mother could, nobody is perfect, and everyone's a little naughty at times. (BRINKLEY SMILES)

—June, 1971

Bob Wernet is a city hall reporter for station KGMB-TV in Honolulu.

Soup Scoop. Will all the Colorado editors who localized the contaminated-Campbell's-chicken-vegetable-soup story please stand up?

Those still seated would have done well to follow the recipe of the Northwest Colorado *Daily Press*, a tiny offset sheet published in Craig. Known more for its tendency to snip 'n' print from other papers than for its enterprising reporting [see *TUM*, April], the *Daily Press* nevertheless found the time to survey Craig supermarkets to see what they were doing about the soup. Safeway and City Market had removed the suspected cans from their shelves, the paper reported; Miles Market didn't have any in stock.

—*The Unsatisfied Man*,
October, 1971

Advocacy Journalism: For Editors and Publishers Only?

Thorn

People in area media who had gotten wind of the "exposé" by Springfield *Union* reporter Jim Shanks on the proposed state DPW model sanitary landfill in Montague were disappointed when the piece finally appeared in the Sunday Roto section Nov. 28.

Little more than a rewrite of already published information, the article did little to get behind the headlines or to the whys of the controversial landfill proposal.

A piece of advocacy journalism against the landfill if there ever was

one, the article probably did more to gunk up already muddy waters and lock in reader stereotypes by unqualifiedly equating landfills with "dumps," failing to define all the issues involved, and writing what was, in essence, a scare piece.

The specific assignment came as no surprise, given the interest of publisher Newhouse in environmental issues and the concern on the part of Sidney R. Cook, Springfield newspapers treasurer, about the landfill which threatens his summer home in Montague.

Curiously, despite all the management concern, the town of Montague footed the bill for aerial photographs of the proposed area.

—Winter, 1971-72

Why Journalism Reviews?

'I Prefer a Questioning Age'—Editor's View

ROLFE NEILL

Philadelphia Journalism Review

Long life to the *Philadelphia Journalism Review*. It can be useful to us all. Let's take a look at *PJR* on its first anniversary to see how well it's lived up to its standards. I will consider it a success if it's elevated Philadelphia journalistic performance by just one notch.

I was asked for my observations. They are these:

1) I'm aware of the possibility of pratfalls—for myself as an editor and for our staff—in the backstage peeping that goes on in a journalism review. But on the assumption that our mistakes are of ignorance and/or oversight rather than of malevolent purpose, I am willing to undergo scrutiny. We're pretty fair hands at tending everybody else's morals. We presume to run mighty governments, to ask millions to accept our stories as The Truth. Why not an audit on the auditors?

2) The *PJR* is just one more itchy patch in the journalistic poison ivy that has broken out, first abroad and now, happily, in our own country. And journalism is rather late being

brought into the examination room. We have been preceded there by General Motors and even the Pope. For myself, I prefer living in a questioning age. The whole of journalistic enterprise is founded on questions, questions, questions. We had first better be able to respond with satisfactory answers to the questions about ourselves. Else, we forfeit the franchise. At its best, *PJR* will advance that mission.

3) A staff member's first obligation is to himself, then to his newspaper. His criticisms of his paper should be directed there. At the *Daily News* we encourage the staff to participate in all areas of the paper. This goes for policymaking as well as content. This is not done in a democratic manner for I am not taking a plebiscite of ma-

jority will on every topic of the day. It is done with an eye to involving the staff IN the paper since the staff IS the paper. We hire people for their brains. Logically, we should use them. My feeling is the *PJR* will go astray if editors first hear of staff members' ideas/complaints in its pages. I am assuming, of course, editors themselves are open to first hearing ideas/complaints. I acknowledge this is not a truism.

4) Purchase of the Annenberg papers by the Knights put some yeast into the local journalistic loaf. Since the transfer, a number of good newspaper people who were already in this town have had more of a chance to meet their own personal standards through the intensified competition. That's good for the people, the papers, and the community. Newspapers are not only a conduit of information, they are a social instrument. Unless they improve their cities they do not do their jobs. There is abundant room in Philadelphia for such accomplishments.

5) *PJR*, in assigning this piece, noted that Philadelphia is the nation's fourth largest city. It asked if the performance of the journalistic fraternity was what I expected in the nation's fourth, etc. I don't believe the size of a city has anything to do with the quality of its journalism. Is one to expect New York, the nation's largest city, to be tops, with Chicago second and Los Angeles third?

The quality of journalism begins in an owner's soul. He must be on fire to produce an outstanding newspaper. Next is his willingness to spend money to hire superior people and give them their head. The third prerequisite is the owner's capacity to endure the outrage of his economic and social peers when his hired hands report fairly about these people's trespasses. Given these ingredients, it's then up to the staff and the editors to deliver the goods.

6) Philadelphia is known for the Liberty Bell and Independence Hall. Beyond that its national reputé sadly seems focused on spavined jokes attributed to W. C. Fields and the hemorrhaging of corporate empires such as Curtis Publishing and the Penn Central Railroad. You certainly don't hear it discussed within our craft as a city that is the home of even one great newspaper, much less several.

Are you willing to settle for that? I'm not.

—June, 1971

Rolfe Neill is editor of the Philadelphia "Daily News."

LA: Sexism in Announcements

Review of Southern California Journalism

The Los Angeles *Times* recently appointed Jean Taylor as women's editor and Jody Jacobs as society editor. In separate stories announcing the appointments the *Times* saw fit to point out that each woman was divorced.

A male executive on the women's section explained that the divorces were referred to because it was "germane to their jobs." Asked how it was germane, he said that they worked on a section "oriented toward women," but said he could not pinpoint it beyond that. He admitted

that he had never seen such a reference for a male appointed to the *Times*.

Ms. Taylor said, "I kind of thought about it. I don't know; perhaps all male executives are delightfully well balanced and don't get divorces." She later added, "I didn't feel that was a piece of information I wanted publicized."

We were unable to reach Ms. Jacobs for comment.

Some have seen in all this traces of latent sexism at the *Times*. We don't think so. We see nothing latent about it.

—Fall, 1971

Why Journalism Reviews?

Owners? 'Also Ourselves To Blame'—Reporter

PATRICK GILBERT

Buncombe: A Review of Baltimore Journalism

Last November, four reporters from the *Sunpapers* met one evening in the basement office of the local Newspaper Guild. Their purpose was to discuss the need for a journalism review in Baltimore. Eventually the group of four was expanded to over thirty, encompassing both newspapers and broadcasting. A series of meetings put final plans into motion.

Why a journalism review in Baltimore? For all the reasons that make this city a journalistic wasteland.

The news media in Baltimore have operated far too long without any kind of professional self-criticism. News coverage from the three major dailies, five TV stations, and what little news comes from radio is neither innovative nor, for the most part, professional. It lacks motivation and it has no definitive direction.

The newspapers are unimaginative and, though sparked by occasional bursts of quality and professionalism, are seemingly stuck in the quagmire of traditionalism which prohibits them from changing with the times.

TV news in this city is, unfortunately and with few exceptions, a standing joke that is a constant source of embarrassment to many in its own circle of colleagues. Its approach to news coverage and the techniques used to present it are unsophisticated and amateurish. Radio news is almost nonexistent, and what is aired suspiciously imitates what is printed that day.

The news media are also guilty of arrogantly ignoring the community while dogtrotting in the steps of politicians and smothering bureaucratic government with a blanket of coverage. A classic example is the city's black community (nearly half of the city) which gets sparse coverage at best.

The blame for this journalistic state of affairs can easily be laid to management, for it is their power and guidance that lend newspapers and the broadcasting media their direction, and it is their influence and "experience" that characterizes the media's motivation.

But the blame must also be put on ourselves, the working journalists. We are imperfect and therefore what we put before the public also is imperfect. Too few times do we stop long enough to question whether we are being fair to the public through the news we present. And is this news an accurate picture of the total or are we just skimming the surface and not finding out why? We, the working journalists, all too often play management's game, and it is the public that gets bilked. We must guard against our own dilemma.

Ever since A. S. Abell came down from Philadelphia and founded the *Sun* in 1837, the news media industry here has gone without any kind of ethical checks from within. And, like the *Sun*, which continues to bask in its one-time glory, the rest of the media have descended into complacency.

Until recently the media in Baltimore had not had to endure the painful agony of self-criticism, and, ironically, when the criticism came, it was precipitated by the city's underground newspaper, *Harry*, through a series of critiques of the three major dailies. It was followed by a critique of the *Sunpapers* by the *Columbia Journalism Review* and a series by WBAL-TV also evaluating the major newspapers.

These attempts, however, were inconclusive and ignored the total scope of the news media industry.

The news media continue to go unchecked and unchallenged, the working journalists continue to be imperfect, and management continues to be oblivious to the need for change. And the public suffers the consequences.

It is hoped that the review will be an answer to these inequities. It is hoped that the review will be a means by which the working journalist can publicly check, criticize, and constantly evaluate himself, his profession, and the news he presents. It is hoped the review will be a forum whereby the public and the community can offer their views and comments on the news media and its effectiveness and responsiveness.

The news media industry, of course, also has had its successes and its pieces of quality journalism. It is hoped the review will give these successes their merited praise and that the review will become a catalyst for news ideas to improve the quality of journalism.

What this review accomplishes may not add respectability to the *News American*, blunt the arrogance of the *Sunpapers*, make the *Afro-American* more responsive to its community, or lend a sense of pride and sophistication to TV newscasting, but if it doesn't, and it fails to bring the news media closer to grips with their problems, then we have no one to blame but ourselves.

—February, 1972.

Patrick Gilbert is a reporter for the Baltimore "Evening Sun."

A scorcher



Doug Munton

Temperatures sizzled past the 100-degree mark in Chicago Tuesday, and a pair of local 29-year-olds, Dan Rottenberg (right) and Ken Pierce, couldn't resist the urge to skip their Loop office jobs and frolic in the sand by Lake Michigan. "Who can work when it's so beautiful out?" asks redheaded Dan with a wink. "Our boss knows he can't keep us inside on a day like this," adds Ken, a long-stemmed brunet. Well, boys will be boys.

—Chicago Journalism Review, August, 1971

Agnew: Managing the News

St. Louis Journalism Review

In addition to the general questions regarding press conference format raised by Vice President Spiro T. Agnew's recent visit to St. Louis, there were very particular questions raised as to the Vice President's control of the format.

Press credentials for newsmen to cover the visit were issued by the office of the publisher of the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, G. Duncan Bauman.

Subsequently, reporters from the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, Associated Press, United Press International, and the Alton *Evening Telegraph* were denied seats at Agnew's televised news conference.

Victor Gold, Agnew's press secretary, said the *Post* had declined an invitation to send an editorial writer. The *Post* political writer demanded a seat but was refused. After an argument, the reporters not allowed to sit at the table were given chairs along the side wall. Questions were to come only from the table.

The eleven persons allowed to ask questions of Agnew included two *Globe* men (editorial writer and political writer), two reporters from Negro weeklies, and announcers from radio stations WIL, KSD, and KMOX, and TV stations KMOX, KSD, KTVI, and KPLR.

Gold told the wire service reporters they were there just to report on what was said, that their reporters had a chance to question Agnew in

Washington and the St. Louis hour-long session was to give the "regional" press a chance. Despite this, some questions were asked from the sidelines.

"Did they expect to get away with it," one reporter said afterward. A colleague answered, "They did get away with it."

The next day the *Globe's* story on the event said:

It was a no-holds barred meeting with newsmen. No restrictions were imposed by Agnew on what type of questions could be asked.

The *Globe* failed to mention, however, the restrictions on which newsmen could ask questions.

The *Post-Dispatch* reported on the exclusion in its March 28 edition and quoted a "veteran White House reporter" as calling the arrangement "absolutely unheard of" for government officials' press conferences.

And all the while, the Vice President was spending half of his time here condemning the media for slanting the news.

—May, 1971

'Adv.'—Again the Missing Mark

Review of Southern California Journalism

The counting house morality of the Los Angeles *Times* has seldom been more blatantly evident than with its recent supplements on "health foods." (The quotes are ours, not the *Times's*.)

In a ten-page section June 20, a red banner urged the reader to GET THE HEALTH FOOD HABIT. The lead headline declared: HEALTH FOODS MEAN PLAIN GOOD NUTRITION. Nowhere did the *Times* indicate that the section—very carefully patterned after regular *Times* news pages—was advertising.

Perhaps mindful of the howls of protest which resulted, the *Times* did label a Sept. 26 ten-page section "health foods Advertising Supplement," but this time in gray, not in red. Also, the following nine pages carried no warning to indicate that they were not the news pages they appeared to be.

Some questions thus arise. Have there been other "special supplements" that we do not know about? Can other advertisers—politicians, for example—buy a section in the *Times* and set it up to look like news? Assuming, of course, that that is news in the rest of the *Times*.

—Fall, 1971

Journalism Review Subscription Details

Buncombe

A Review of Baltimore Journalism
2317 Maryland Avenue
Baltimore, Md. 21218
(Bimonthly; single copy 25 cents.)

Chicago Journalism Review

192 N. Clark Street
Chicago, Ill. 60601
(Monthly; one year, \$7; foreign, \$8.50; airmail, \$13.)

Hawaii Journalism Review

53-133 Kamehameha Highway
Punaluu, Hawaii 96717
(Monthly; contributions only, no subscription fee.)

Journalists Newsletter

Box 1174, Postal Annex
Providence, R.I. 02903
(Semi-annually; one year, \$5.)
(More)

Box 2971, Grand Central Station
New York, N.Y. 10017
(Monthly; one year, \$7.50; two years, \$12.)

Philadelphia Journalism Review

1001 Chestnut St., Room 915
Philadelphia, Pa. 19107
(Monthly; one year, \$5.)

Press On

Twin Cities Journalism Review
Box 17113

St. Paul, Minn. 55117
(Bimonthly; one year, \$3.)

Review of Southern California Journalism

6101 East Seventh Street
Long Beach, Calif. 90804.
(Quarterly; one year, \$2.50.)
St. Louis Journalism Review
Box 3086
St. Louis, Mo. 63130
(Bimonthly; one year, \$3; foreign, \$5.)

The Unsatisfied Man

A Review of Colorado Journalism
Box 18470
Denver, Colo. 80218
(Monthly; one year, \$6; U.S. airmail and foreign surface mail, \$8.50.)

Thorn

Connecticut Valley Media Review
Box 1040
Holyoke, Mass. 01040
(Issued periodically; one year, \$5; foreign, \$10.)

What's wrong with statehouse coverage

"Is the limited space made available for statehouse news being used intelligently? Do the news media deserve some of the blame for the states' difficulties?"

THOMAS B. LITTLEWOOD

■ Chances are most Americans would have trouble naming their state representatives or telling whether the legislature is even in session. Yet this echelon of government probably affects their lives in more ways than any other, and its revitalization is essential to the health of the American political system. How well is it being covered? Do the news media deserve some of the blame for the chronic difficulties of the states?

Is the limited space made available for statehouse news being used intelligently? Do the newspapers go beyond the clowns and crooks and trivia that are part of every legislative scene and treat the relevant issues with clarity and depth? Whether the cities are obtaining a fair share of the state budget (and if not, why not)? The politics of suburbia at the state capitol? How regional interests align? The legislature's relationship with the governor? The quality of legislative leadership? The week-by-week activities and alliances of private interest groups?

These are crucial matters in every capital. Citizen interest, understanding, and confidence are necessary if state governments are to overcome the

effects of decades of malapportionment, raw corruption, and domination by narrow economic pressures, and become the truly professional, innovative instruments our urban society demands. Better coverage is essential, too, if the public is to evaluate the variety of proposals in Washington for sharing federal power and revenues.

In examining state government today, one finds, first, that the image of the legislature as a den of intrigue persists. The United States Supreme Court's reapportionment decisions in the Sixties brought new hope and new blood into many legislatures. But many of the younger, more talented persons attracted to office during the reapportionment revolution are quitting. Legislatures must stay in session longer than before. Yet the public remains reluctant to support functional improvements and the higher salaries that must go with fulltime professional service. Legislators who can't afford the additional time away from regular careers often are troubled by ethical dilemmas and potential conflicts of interest. So they drop out, leaving the field to hacks and to those who use their positions to make money on the side. Which, of course, only makes the bad image worse.

A reporter's view of the coverage of one statehouse—New York's—already has appeared in *CJR* ["The Neglected Statehouse," Summer, 1967]. My

Thomas B. Littlewood, of the Chicago *Sun-Times* Washington bureau, covered the Illinois capitol in Springfield for ten years.

purpose is to look at the problems of state legislative coverage in part as they are viewed from within the system. For this, I sent questionnaires to a cross-section of legislators in all sections of the country. Included were thirty-nine younger legislators in thirty-two states who, whether liberal or conservative, tend to be problem-solvers anxious to make the system work. For purposes of comparison, the same questions were also asked of legislative leaders—men who already have attained positions of influence. The questionnaires were supplemented by interviews with other persons who have a professional interest in the fate of state legislatures. If proper allowances are made for the axes some of the legislators may be grinding, their responses cast useful light on problems of the wire services, broadcast media, and newspaper reporters who work in the state-house. [For reporters' views, see box, page 41.]

Consider the wire services first. All but the larger newspapers and broadcasting stations receive most legislative news from Associated Press or United Press International or both. Yet wire service bureaus in state capitols are disgracefully understaffed. The Harrisburg, Pa., bureau of AP was reported to have fewer newsmen now—five—than in 1935 (six). UPI has two newsmen in Trenton, two in Madison, and makes do with a stringer in Annapolis when the legislature is not in session. During a session a single reporter is usually assigned from the UPI Baltimore bureau. In the smaller states, especially, it is a common practice for the wires to use one newsman to cover both houses—assigned, perhaps, by an editor who was home ill the day the teacher explained the bicameral system.

It is not realistic to expect penetrating, balanced coverage of a legislature from an overworked, undermanned bureau buried in an avalanche of new and overnight leads. As the second wire service of many clients, UPI has suffered more than AP from recent expansions and wire-sharing combinations of the supplemental news services, necessitating budget reductions at UPI. Two years ago the Springfield, Ill., UPI bureau chief, Richard Adorjan, resigned because of what he considered too few hands to do too many chores. A member of the bureau since 1961, Adorjan quit

after the Chicago regional office took away the fourth man in the bureau—the teletype operator—meaning that thereafter reporters also would be transmitting their own copy onto the wire.

After Adorjan's departure, the bureau consisted of three newsmen, none of whom had covered a legislature before. At that time the three were coping simultaneously with: a special session of the legislature; a constitutional convention; all the other facets of state government, including the Governor, the Supreme Court, and the administrative agencies; processing the high school basketball scores and weekly team ratings for the entire state; handling the daily "interior Illinois livestock market"; covering fatal highway accidents and other spot news happenings for the middle one-third of Illinois; and responding to the special service requests of clients for coverage of events such as the tedious rate hearings before the state regulatory agencies. "Chicago kept saying just handle it the best you can," Adorjan recalled.

Wire service salaries have improved in the smaller bureaus. But an odd budgetary logic still prevails. Some years ago, for instance, the AP bureau in Springfield achieved the remarkable status of having three competent experienced newsmen. This was unacceptable. Word came from Chicago that one must be transferred so that a lower-paid rookie could be brought in. The one transferred was Roger Lane, who now is a first-rate legislative reporter in Michigan—not for AP, but for the *Detroit Free Press*.

"The wire services barely scratch the surface," said Donald Herzberg, director of the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University. "My impression is that Trenton is just a way station for ambitious young journalists and a resting place for tired old ones. There is not adequate staff to do stories in depth." Charles Davis, who is executive secretary of the National Conference of State Legislative Leaders, based in Milwaukee, agreed. "In many wire service bureaus they come and go in a steady stream, never really learning what's going on," he said. "It is in dailies in the cities of up to 50,000 population, which rely on the shallow daily wire-service wrapup, where the coverage really breaks down."

The wires were judged by most legislators quer-

Statehouse correspondents survey

□ For on-the-scene estimates of the quality and quantity of statehouse coverage, CJR sent questionnaires to representative correspondents in each of the fifty states. Forty-six responded. The survey results in summary*:

1. How many reporters do each of the wire services assign to state government,

a. when the legislature is in session?

Reporters	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>
No. of States						
AP	(4)	(19)	(16)	(4)	(1)	(1)
UPI	(10)	(24)	(7)	(1)	(1)	(0)

b. when the legislature is not in session?

Reporters	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>
AP (States)	(20)	(11)	(7)	(1)	(1)	(0)
UPI (States)	(20)	(9)	(5)	(1)	(0)	(0)

2. Of the 130 U.S. newspapers with circulations of 100,000 or more,

a. how many cover the legislature?

(128)

b. how many reporters are assigned to the statehouse by each,

Reporters	<u>1</u>	<u>2-3</u>	<u>4-5</u>	<u>6-7</u>
during sessions? (Papers)	(27)	(77)	(19)	(5)
between sessions? (Papers)	(72)	(40)	(5)	(1)

3. Of all other U.S. newspapers, how many provide coverage of legislative sessions by one or more exclusive correspondents?

Reporters	<u>1</u>	<u>2-3</u>	<u>4-5</u>	<u>6-7</u>
Newspapers	(6)	(12)	(9)	(6)

4. States which have newspapers with the circulation and resources you believe would justify more extensive legislative coverage (by number of papers in each):

Reporters	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4-5</u>
Newspapers	(8)	(6)	(3)	(7)

5. States which have TV stations rated as "doing a good job" (by number of stations in each):

No. of Stations	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
States	(8)	(10)	(8)	(8)	(0)

6. States which have TV stations you believe could afford to "do a good job" but do not (by number of stations in each):

Stations	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
States	(12)	(3)	(7)	(3)	(1)

7. Which in your judgment do the better jobs of legislative coverage?

Wire Service bureaus	Broadcasting bureaus	Newspaper bureaus
(12)	(0)	(37)

8. Do you have serious problems with editors who require excessive attention to routine news that could be handled by the wires, depriving you of time for interpretive reporting?

Yes	No
(12)	(32)

9. Is there a significant difference in approach between legislative reporters who are primarily political reporters and those who are not?

Yes	No
(20)	(22)

10. In a typical legislative session, what proportion of reporters will have had the experience of covering at least one previous session (by number of states reporting the given category)

a. Among wire service reporters?

0-25%	26-50%	51-75%	76-100%
(3)	(14)	(9)	(14)

b. Among newspapermen?

0-25%	26-50%	51-75%	76-100%
(1)	(6)	(15)	(24)

c. Among broadcast journalists?

0-25%	26-50%	51-75%	76-100%
(6)	(16)	(8)	(8)

11. Who is more likely to do a better job?

a. The idealistic reporter who is inexperienced, may make errors, and may expect too much from state governmental institutions?

(17)

b. The oldtimer who knows the subject and the people but may be cynical and lazy?

(15)

* Sums in categories may differ because not all respondents answered all questions.

ied to be doing a reasonably adequate job only on routine news. "The wires report the ordinary well, but they have little nose or capacity for the extraordinary," said Richard Lamm in Colorado. New Jersey Senate Leader Raymond Bateman agreed that "beyond the day-to-day coverage, in-depth research and reporting are practically nonexistent." Moreover, said John Burns of Oregon, "The wires are not able to spend enough time covering committee meetings and the nuts and bolts of the legislative process."

Just as apparent is the inability of the higher-salaried broadcast newsmen to dramatize the complicated stuff of the legislature. There simply aren't that many good "picture stories" in the statehouse. Rather than breaking their own stories, TV reporters generally are content with hallway interviews based on something they read in the morning papers. Only nine of the thirty-nine legislators surveyed through the TV and radio reports in their states were nearly adequate. Georgia is one state in which coverage by the broadcasters is perhaps heavier than usual. The Atlanta TV stations have a camera crew for each house, and the Macon and Albany stations each keep a fulltime crew on hand when the legislature is in session. But Georgia State Senator Robert H. Smalley Jr., reported a fairly typical reaction: "Viewer impact is striking compared to other media, but the coverage is so superficial that the public is more informed about the personality than the issue."

The responding legislators felt that broadcasters were most interested in controversial, simple, and colorful stories that could be summarized succinctly. Burns of Oregon watched the TV coverage expand during his first three years from one parttime legislative reporter to fulltime reporters for three stations. "But their coverage is still superficial and tends to overglamorize and sensationalize," he said. Richard Riley of South Carolina added: "The broadcasters cater to showboat legislators and don't do the necessary preparation to catch the thrust of what makes legislatures operate." Much the same criticism is leveled by the academicians. "The glamor media are interested only in excitement," said Herzberg of Rutgers.

State government in Maryland, for example,

affects the lives and pocketbooks of citizens in two rich metropolitan TV markets—Baltimore and the suburbs north and east of Washington, D. C. But WTOP, a CBS affiliate owned by the Washington Post Company, fired its experienced legislative correspondent just as the 1971 session of the Maryland legislature was beginning. He served both the TV and radio stations, the latter an all-news outlet.

As for the newspapers, the legislators' most commonly heard concerns are that reporters do not dig deeply enough or interpret wisely enough; do not have the time or inclination to comprehend the subtle shadings and political nuances of the legislative arena; and—by far the most serious allegation—may not really understand the legislative process. For example, Larry Margolis, who served as assistant to Jess Unruh when he was Speaker of the California Assembly and now is the executive director of the foundation-financed Citizens Conference on State Legislatures, contends that many newsmen seem as unaware as most laymen that, when the legislature is functioning properly, reconciling conflict and negotiating answers are what it is for. "I sometimes think," Margolis said recently, "that if we were going to start all over again in the legislative improvement business, we would get as much accomplished and maybe more if we dealt with the press corps instead of the legislature itself."

Another who believes that most of the statehouse press corps—and therefore its audience—do not understand the informal ways in which decisions are reached, by compromise and negotiation, is Donna Shalala, assistant professor of political science at City University of New York. "Whether they are experienced or just beginning," she said, "statehouse reporters should understand the procedures, have a healthy respect for and understanding of power and decision-making, and have a 'memory.' The memory can be acquired by a younger reporter who knows you don't analyze the 1971 budget by simply looking at the 1971 budget but at earlier years as well."

News reports are bland and obtuse, lacking coherence and continuity. "Too much of the reporting is stylized and episodic, focusing on the trivial," observed Alan Rosenthal, who is director

of the Center for State Legislative Research and Service at Rutgers' Eagleton Institute. "The difference in texture takes some understanding. As it is, the news is gearily only skimmed off the top."

It is true that much of the business of the legislature is hard, dreary, painstaking, and complicated. A change in estate law, or in the state school-aid formula, may alter the lives of readers far more profoundly than a foreign aid debate in the U.S. Senate, or anything else in the paper. But it takes immense skill and understanding to portray such issues in meaningful, understandable terms. Often, though, dullness is related to the reporter's own superficial understanding of the

"Capitols' wire bureaus are woefully understaffed . . ."

subject. As Jack Schramm, a member of the Missouri House from St. Louis put it, "There may not be enough background digging into the politics of the situation."

According to *CJR's* survey of statehouse reporters, current staffing leaves much room for improvement. In Pennsylvania, the Scranton and York papers do not cover the legislature. The Youngstown *Vindicator* in Ohio relies exclusively on AP and the Scripps-Howard wire. The Thomson-Brush-Moore chain of medium-sized dailies in Ohio had a statehouse correspondent in the past, but does not have one now. Among the newspapers which assign a single reporter to the legislature when it is in session are: The New York *Post* (New York City's only remaining afternoon paper), the two Memphis papers, the Omaha *World-Herald*, the Jackson, Miss., *News*, the Reno newspapers, the Arizona *Daily Star*, the Tucson *Daily Citizen*, and the San Antonio *Light*.

How good is the newspaper reporting that is being done? In assessing newspaper performance, it is worth noting that the leaders or former lead-

ers seemed far more conscious of reporters' slant or bias than were legislators not yet in positions of influence. Charles Kurfess, speaker of the Ohio House, mentioned "misleading interpretations" that he said sometimes "make the legislators as cynical of the press as the press is occasionally cynical of the legislature." Vermont State Senator Richard Mallary, a former Speaker of the Vermont House who was recently elected Congressman-at-large from that state, talked of "excessive coloration" by the major dailies in his state. Stewart Bledsoe, majority leader of the Washington House, characterized some stories as "pure poison, depending on the reporter's area of bias."

Asked about the quality of the interpretive reporting being done, eighteen thought reporters were doing a fair to good job, eighteen said poor or not good enough, two said performance varied so widely as to make generalization impossible, and one said the papers in his state didn't do interpretive reporting so it was no problem.

Improvements in coverage compared to five or ten years ago were detected by only about half the responding legislators. Nor did as many as might be expected say there was less sensationalism in the legislative news: Five considered the editing emphasis improved, but four thought it was worse now, eleven said it was about the same, and the others "couldn't say."

Considering constituent interest, do most of the papers devote reasonable space and emphasis to legislative news? Eleven said yes, thirteen said no, two said space totaled more than reader interest in their state seemed to justify, and the others would not venture a guess. Some maintained that additional space for legislative news has brought more of what they classified as sensationalism.

In all the states, legislators and professional observers alike yearn for an ideal blend of seasoning and receptivity to new ideas in the statehouse reporter. "It is a curious fact," observed Rutgers' Alan Rosenthal, "that experience often breeds not understanding but cynicism and inside-dopesterism. When that happens the reporters try to behave like the stereotype of the way politicians are supposed to behave."

For that reason, the questionnaire included this deliberately provocative query: "Do you feel bet-

ter having your legislature covered by an idealistic reporter who is inexperienced, may make errors, and may expect too much from the institution, or by an oldtimer who knows the subject and the people thoroughly but may be cynical and lazy?" Seventeen preferred the young idealist, ten the oldtimer; twelve would make no choice. Again, however, there was an interesting correlation in the replies of the leaders and nonleaders: only one of the nine leaders specified the young idealist.

It is probably understandable, and certainly significant, that the same question elicited indignant comments from many of the statehouse reporters

"Share the costs of a state capitol reference service . . ."

in a *CJR* survey. One reporter was so irate at the implications of the question he returned the form unanswered. Others said the question was ridiculous or stupid. A few suggested that the reporter who was lazy wouldn't last long.

In many capitals, reporters whose year-around responsibility is state politics also cover sessions of the legislature. There was no agreement whether this is good or bad, but many respondents detected a difference in approach. James Flannery of Ohio, for one, said, "State politics is complicated and reporters who have mastered it do a more competent job of covering the legislature." On the other hand, Bill Frenzel, now a Congressman from Minnesota, replied: "Ninety-five per cent of the legislature is not necessarily political in the way that political writers conceive it to be, but they make it so if they can."

A common complaint is that reporters overreact to quotable celebrities who would otherwise be without influence, and this distorts the image of the institution, causes personalities to eclipse issues, and creates internal jealousies. Most of the responding legislators describe this as a problem

in their chamber, although one, from his vantage point as a celebrity, remarked it was no problem.

Despite their ideological differences, twenty-five of the thirty-nine respondents considered most of the newspaper editorials about the legislature in their states to be well informed.

And, in view of statehouse folklore and low journalistic salaries, it is heartening to report that the ethical standards of legislative reporters were rated exceptionally high by thirty-five of the thirty-nine legislators. The ethical complications of statehouse reporting are considerably more subtle than who takes money or an expensive Christmas gift. For a newsman who has covered the same subject for many years, has come to know his news sources intimately, and may relax with them after working hours, objectivity is not a simple matter. The old maxim that what counts is the inside information the reader has, not the inside information the reporter has, applies particularly in the statehouse.

Of all the suggestions about what can be done to remedy the situation, on the news media side the most obvious are to assign more people, give them time to think clearly, and enough time or space and display to impress the reader with the importance of the subject. The weekend interpretive story with enough time or space for background and explanation, is especially desirable. By any analysis, however, the legislatures cannot evade their share of responsibility. Unless they adopt needed reforms, the kind of reporting in depth and increased exposure advocated here will further lower their already too-low esteem.

If committee sessions are closed to the press, and public business is conducted in the shadows, reporters may be forgiven for sometimes seeing things in the dark that may not be there. What is clear is that the reader is not well served where legislatures and journalists converge in an atmosphere of distrust and recrimination. The muckraking tradition in statehouse journalism is strong, and there is danger of editors being locked into a caricature of the legislature that well may be out of date soon. In addition, Margolis believes an information service similar to *Congressional Quarterly* could serve a useful background reference purpose for newsmen and be sold to interest

groups as well. Foundations might be persuaded to share the development costs of a state capitol service of that type, he believes. Only California and a few other large states now have services of this type.

Margolis' organization also has been conducting conferences for legislators and capitol correspondents, aimed at improved mutual understanding. Another useful project would be foundation-financed seminars for wire service newsmen in state capitol bureaus. What better way to enhance the prestige of capitol correspondents?

It is not easy to explain the low prestige of statehouse reporting. When Delmer Dunn, a political scientist, wrote *Public Officials and the Press*, based on a study in the Wisconsin capital, he was struck by the lack of prestige accompanying even important assignments on the statehouse beat. "There are more desirable beats, other places where young people want to go," he pointed out in an interview. "The young people who were good wanted to get out as soon as they could." Many young journalists are simply not stimulated by life in Jefferson City or Albany. And in most

capitals talented manpower is wasted because reporters must be sure they don't miss something the others have. (Speaker Kurfess referred to the "herd instinct" in the pressroom—spending much time duplicating the wire services instead of undertaking the imaginative, interpretive, background projects that might stimulate citizen interest in the legislatures.)

"Why is the quality of reporting different in Albany than in Washington?" asked Miss Shalala of CUNY. "It is not just the quality of men I am sure, but also has something to do with the absence of an intellectual or really competitive journalistic community to bounce off of in the state capitals. Put another way, the graduated income tax has enabled the federal government to concern itself with 'program politics,' while the relatively fixed incomes of the states have tied them to 'tax politics.' It seems to me that observation alone explains much of our unhappiness with statehouse reporting. Perhaps it leads one to the conclusion that to change the quality of statehouse reporting we must change the quality of state government. Again the two-edged sword."

Juxtaposition triumphant

—Akron Beacon
Journal, Aug.
30, 1971.

Mind At Ease, White Prepares To Leave KSU

By HELEN CARRINGER
Beacon Journal Education Writer

KENT — Robert I. White, sixth president of Kent State University, thought when Summer came there might be a sort of "winding down" — a slower pace — while he closed his books on eight years of university administration.

But his Sept. 15 departure date is almost here and "the days are just as pressure-packed as ever," he said as

to Kent State, a measure of his steadfastness and a reflection of the loyalty of those nearest him that he has come through some of the darkest days in campus history with only a "wee bit" of bitterness, much hope and pride and his mind at ease.

IN THE wave of campus rebellion and unrest that began in 1966 at Berkeley, Cal., and culminated in tragic consequences the Kent campus



WHITE PONDER'S COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS

Notes on the art

When TV was offered the Pentagon Papers

■ Last Oct. 18, CBS News president Richard S. Salant, responding to questions from CBS affiliated stations at a regional meeting of the National Association of Broadcasters in Chicago, disclosed that CBS had been offered part of the Pentagon Papers after the New York *Times* was enjoined from publication. Thus it was revealed that broadcasting was directly involved in the historic drama which burst into international prominence last June. Salant's revelation came too late for *CJR's* special issue on the Pentagon Papers [September/October], and there has been surprisingly little followup in the media. Yet this aspect of the story clearly deserves chronicling.

Washington *Post* reporter Robert J. Samuelson apparently was the first newsman to follow up Salant's statement. In the Oct. 21 *Post* Samuelson reported:

At least two of the major television networks were offered the Pentagon Papers last June, but both decided not to use the documents. Both CBS and ABC said rejection of the documents had nothing to do with the networks' ownership of federally licensed radio and television stations.

Salant told Samuelson that CBS was offered portions of the papers on June 17, two days after a U.S. District Court in New York honored a Justice Department request to temporarily enjoin the New York

Times from using the documents. (The *Post's* own series began June 18.) The material, Salant said, was offered "on an immediate release basis from sources who were in a terrible rush to get these things published." CBS declined, he said, because it wanted to study the documents "and put them in journalistic context." But he added that the offer of the documents did lead to an exclusive Walter Cronkite interview with Daniel Ellsberg.

Bill Sheehan, ABC News vice president and director of TV news, told Samuelson that on June 23 or 24 his network was offered "1,000 pages of fresh papers." But before the papers would be delivered, Sheehan said, ABC would have had to agree that it would not let existing injunctions against newspapers inhibit it from using the papers. Samuelson reported:

If Sheehan's dating is correct, injunctions had been issued against the New York *Times*, the Washington *Post*, and the Boston *Globe* when the offer to ABC was made. "They (the network's attorneys) felt the precedent was there," Sheehan said, and raised the prospect of citations for contempt of court.

NBC News vice president Donald Meaney told the *Post* reporter, "I've canvassed everyone here and, to our knowledge, they (the documents) were never brought to our attention." As we shall see, however, Meaney's "canvass" must have omitted such individuals as Julian Goodman, president, and Frank Jordan, Washington bureau chief.

At CBS, Gordon Manning, vice president and director of news, emphasized that CBS had actively sought out Ellsberg and the documents in his possession, and that much cloak-and-dagger work was involved. Even after arrangements were made, CBS News encountered obstacles in getting to the private house in Cambridge—the "undisclosed location"—where the interview took place. The Boston airport was fogged in, so Cronkite had

to land in Providence and rent a car to Boston. The film of the interview was developed at a lab in South Boston, and the CBS affiliate in Boston was asked to feed the film to New York.

By the time the interview was completed, the Boston *Globe* and Chicago *Sun-Times* had published stories based on the Pentagon Papers. However, according to Salant, when the documents were first offered to CBS, only the *Times* had published, and when Manning and company reached Ellsberg—early in the week of June 20—neither the *Globe* nor *Sun-Times* accounts had yet appeared.

In his Cambridge meeting with CBS News, Ellsberg produced a two-foot-high stack of Pentagon Papers. He wanted them reported on the air. Manning recommended to Salant that they try something, using clips from the Ellsberg interview as well as film of Walt W. Rostow, Henry Cabot Lodge, and other principals. After consultation with corporate officials, it was decided that, for a variety of reasons, the Pentagon Papers could not be presented in a broadcast.

Of the news division's reasons for rejecting Ellsberg's offer, Manning would only comment: "He wanted it done immediately; I needed time for film and tape research. He had a timetable of getting out as much material as fast as possible. [Moreover] the *Times* had already printed the best stuff." Salant told the Washington *Post* that CBS' ownership of government-licensed radio and TV stations was not a factor in his rejection of the documents.

In his half-hour interview with Ellsberg, Cronkite did not seek to unearth fresh revelations from the papers, but concentrated instead on drawing out "Ellsberg the man" and his motivations, since that was a focus of curiosity at the time. Nevertheless, Ellsberg felt constrained to remark at one point, "All the questions so far have been based, I think, on a slightly wrong premise, and that is that the heart

of the study is out. . . . That's far from true. . . . There's a lot more to come. . . ."

Substantial portions of the Defense Department study were offered to NBC on Sunday, June 20, in a telephone call. A spokesman for NBC president Julian Goodman told me, "It is entirely true that we were offered the Pentagon Papers on a severely proscribed basis. We asked for an opportunity to do an orderly journalistic job; they wanted a hasty presentation of a huge volume of material. We told them that on that basis we had no interest."

I asked the NBC representative, "If you had had all the time you needed, and could have done with the documents what you wanted, would you have put the Pentagon Papers on the air?" He replied, "Absolutely. We were very anxious to do something; that was exactly what we set out to do." But he insisted that "impossible conditions" had been attached, "they wanted to dump an enormous amount of paper on us," and "on that basis we thought we were being used," that acceptance would have amounted to "press agentry for Ellsberg." It was purely a news judgment, he said, but admitted that it was "not inconceivable" that if the papers had been offered on a journalistically acceptable basis, legal considerations might have prevailed.

At a Jan. 6 panel of the three network news anchormen before the International Radio and Television Society, NBC's John Chancellor commented, "I wonder what the New York Times would have done . . . if somebody had offered them 50,000 feet of 16 millimeter film. The analogy is exact in our terms. There are some things that we can't carry."

While declining the June 20 offer, NBC did express an interest in putting Ellsberg on the air. The caller—either Ellsberg or an associate—said he would think it over. Then on Wednesday Ellsberg turned up on CBS-TV with Cron-

kite. According to an NBC News official, Ellsberg offered to come on NBC after that, but NBC declined to follow CBS, since "Ellsberg had answered almost all the questions we would have asked" in his conversation with Cronkite.

Chancellor told the IRTS forum, "Dan Ellsberg called me up about this time. We'd been trying, along with Walter [Cronkite] and Harry [Reasoner], quite desperately for three or four days to find him . . . and so one night—it troubled my indigestion—I saw Walter on the box with Dan Ellsberg. About three days later, my thirty or forty telephone messages were answered by Ellsberg or actually his lawyer, and they said, 'You can have him now, he's very anxious to appear on your program' . . . and we just said the hell with it."

At ABC, Bill Sheehan, elaborating on his earlier comments to the Washington Post, noted that ABC's offer came in a phone call from a Mr. Gold, whom Sheehan assumed to be Ellsberg or his lawyer. Gold indicated he had also spoken to Goodman at NBC. His offer: "I have 1,000 pages of fresh material from the Pentagon Papers that has never been published. . . . You and your representatives can come and look at it if you promise me you'll broadcast this material if you find it newsworthy."

Gold wanted Sheehan's guarantee that ABC would impose no legal strictures on use of the material. Sheehan said he would check with company lawyers. Gold promised to call back in about an hour.

The lawyers told Sheehan that, because injunctions already were in force in several cities, ABC might be held in contempt of court—in effect, "publishing" in those cities in violation of injunctions. When Gold called again Sheehan explained this and asked, "Why don't you let us look at the material?" Then, he argued, he could go back to the lawyers with something concrete. Gold said he might do that. Gold never called again.

While Manning had envisioned use of film and tape bridges on CBS, Sheehan evidently contemplated simply a reading session. He was hoping to send Reasoner to look at the papers. "It's not a very good television story," Sheehan commented. "All you can do is talk it out."

Ultimately, Dan Ellsberg was not the only source of the Pentagon Papers: The documents were circulated in Washington, giving TV a second opportunity to "talk it out."

Early in the week of June 28, NBC News' Washington bureau came into possession of several hundred Xeroxed sheets containing, in the words of Pentagon correspondent Robert Goralski, "quite a bit of material that, so far as we knew, had not been leaked previously." Goralski and State Department correspondent Richard Valeriani were given a couple of days to evaluate and select material. A similar procedure, of course, had been followed by newspapers upon receiving sections of the documents.

Goralski says the material was deemed for broadcast on the *NBC Nightly News* when he got it. It was aired on June 30—hours after the Supreme Court decision which in effect lifted the prior restraints on the New York Times, Washington Post, and Boston Globe. Goralski's report was also aired that evening on the NBC radio network.

Goralski declined to identify the source, but the introduction provided by *Nightly News* anchorman John Chancellor provides a clue. Chancellor stated:

More of the Pentagon Papers were floating around today, released to the press by Sen. Mike Gravel of Alaska and carried by various media. Two of our NBC News correspondents have been reading what we have and here are their reports.

Sen. Gravel had held his emotional midnight hearing, reading portions of the documents and releasing the rest to the news media, the previous night. Yet Goralski

said he had been studying the material for "a couple of days." Since the Senator had received his set some time prior to June 29, this would not rule him out as the source, but would indicate that NBC had obtained copies earlier. Goralski reported:

... the Pentagon Papers reveal that in February of (1965) the Joint Chiefs of Staff concluded there is a fair chance Peking would introduce limited numbers of Chinese ground forces as volunteers into North Vietnam and/or Laos. . . . One possible way of dealing with all-out Chinese intervention which was secretly discussed at the time was with nuclear weapons. Secretary of State Dean Rusk is quoted as saying it would be better to use nuclear arms rather than to be "bled white fighting them with conventional weapons."

Goralski also quoted a cable sent to Washington in early 1965 by U.S. Ambassador to Moscow Foy Kohler. Valeriani related:

... in one portion of the papers, a Pentagon analyst noted that while President Johnson had paid lip service to his willingness to do anything and go anywhere in the interests of peace, the official U.S. position had been unresponsive to negotiations through early April 1965.

He quoted a warning by Admiral Sharp, the commander of U.S. forces in the Pacific, against "premature" discussions with North Vietnam, and noted White House concurrence with Sharp's view. Valeriani added that "the papers report that possible peace feelers made privately by the Russians and by the North Vietnamese themselves were not vigorously pursued" and "the papers indicate that no matter what was said in public at this stage, neither side really wanted to negotiate."

The two reports were notable for the fact that television broadcast stories based on the Pentagon Papers, rather than simply reporting what newspapers had printed. Tele-

vision's resourcefulness in handling voluminous written material was also demonstrated on June 26 in a CBS-TV prime-time half-hour special consisting largely of three CBS correspondents reading from the respective briefs of the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and the Government. One of the most nonvisual TV programs ever, it admirably served the public interest.

These examples suggest that the unsuitability of the documents for a sight-oriented medium was not in itself a sufficient reason for rejecting them. Ellsberg's insistence on immediate use of the material provided a more plausible basis for a turndown. The journalistic problems this created for the networks cannot be minimized.

But another issue remains. That is, concern about the legal implications of broadcasting the material. Injunctions issued against certain newspapers applied only to those newspapers. Garden City, Long Island, where *Newsday* is published, falls within the same judicial circuit as the *New York Times*, yet *Newsday* published a story based on the Pentagon study after the *Times* was enjoined. Likewise, in Boston the *Christian Science Monitor* published an exclusive report after the *Globe* was stopped by an injunction. Thus the ABC legal department's point that there was a *de facto* injunction seems questionable.

TV's precarious legal position as a half-free news medium seems more significant. For a newspaper to have run portions of the Pentagon Papers took courage. For TV, with its dependence on government licensing, to divulge the contents of documents "stolen" from the Government—even after the initial revelations in print—would have required still more courage.

Did the TV networks "flinch"? We probably will never know. But given the extent to which they exist at government sufferance, it is easy to understand why they might be tempted to hold back. Had TV dared to break fresh disclosures

after the *Times* was gagged, the offending network would have incurred not only the risks facing the *Times*—grand jury investigations and followup indictments—but also the possibility of investigations by the FCC and by TV's many enemies on Capitol Hill. License renewals might have been held up pending these investigations.

In saying no to Ellsberg, the networks avoided certain risks. At the same time, they incurred others. A newspaper need not earn its freedom, and broadcast journalism's claim to full First Amendment protection cannot be made contingent on its performance. Yet, pragmatically, the force of broadcasters' arguments for equality depends on what they do with the qualified freedom they have.

Harry Reasoner summed it up well at the IRTS panel: "We do have a mildly guilty conscience which relates to a lot of things, including our special position in the field of journalism. We are not as investigative and as bold as we ought to be. . . . We did have opportunities which we did not take in the case of the Pentagon Papers."

STEVE KNOLL

Steve Knoll, a free-lance reporter, until recently covered radio-TV for *Variety*.

What news in New York's newspapers?

■ In late 1966, I was writing an obituary of the *New York Herald Tribune* for *American Heritage*, and I interviewed Turner Catledge, then the executive editor of the *New York Times*, and the formulator of that paper's news policy since 1951. I had expected to find Catledge elated by this ultimate vindication of *Times* reporting over

the journalistic alternatives adopted by the *Trib* after it fell on hard times after World War II. Instead the editor of the *Times* was downcast, not as I was because New York City had lost a great and historic voice and because many of my friends were out of work, but rather because of what he feared this passing might do to the *Times*.

"We're going to miss the *Trib* over here," he said. "It kept us honest." Now that there were only two general-circulation morning newspapers in New York, he predicted, "I think you'll find the *News* will start to become more like us, and we'll become more like them."

More than five years have passed—and Catledge has retired from the *Times*—and I think his prediction has been at least halfway fulfilled. The *News* has become more like the *Times*. It still doesn't run adequate stock tables, but it does have a daily financial page, and, more important, its editors have begun scattering through its back pages and suburban sections stories of black middle-class accomplishments, items which they used to pass up in deference to the supposed prejudices of the tabloid's predominantly white and presumably benighted mass circulation. Although I have yet to notice an account of a scandalous black divorce case (such are the limited compensations afforded victims of prejudice), I have found in the *News* some of the more perceptive reporting on the Black Panther movement and reactions to it in the black community. The *News'* "zone" sections provide the greatest variety of neighborhood news and features in the city, and it acted in the best newspaper traditions when it went to bat for a black Marine unjustly court-martialed into prison and sent reporter Richard Oliver all the way to Okinawa last year to cover his exoneration.

As to the second part of Catledge's prediction, although the *Times* has greatly increased its use of pictures over the last few years

and on some days runs as many pictures, maps, and drawings as "New York's Picture Newspaper," I don't think the *Times* has become much like the *News* since 1966. Rather it seems to me to have become like the latter-day *Herald Tribune*. The first step toward this, I suppose, was the gradual recruitment of many of the *Trib's* reporters and writers, beginning with Walter Kerr and



Times, *Post*, and *News* in 1952—"Applied to the *Times*, the tape measure showed a substantial decrease in the newshole."

culminating recently with Red Smith—no mean pair of brackets there. Other *Trib* bylines to crop up prominently in the *Times* since 1966 include Maurice Carroll, Richard Madden, Albin Krebs, Fred Ferretti, James Clarity, Richard Reeves (since moved on to *New York* magazine), Barnard Collier, Sam Goldaper, Terry Robards, Alfonso Narvaez, and Lacey Fosburgh.

A second step toward the *Tribune* was the revamping and emphasis devoted in weekday editions of the *Times* to women's news and "culture" (that paper's name for

the department responsible for reviewing and covering news of the fine arts, performing arts, and literature)—both areas in which the *Trib* had been strong. Then, after Catledge's retirement in April of 1970, the *Times* evicted the obituaries from the page opposite its editorials to establish for columnists and visiting commentators an Op Ed page not too different from the one for which the old *World* was celebrated before its demise, and which the *Journal-American* and *Herald Tribune* later adopted.

The Op Ed page was followed last April by a chatty column entitled "Notes on People," which is little more or less than the "Names and Faces" feature which the *Trib* affected in its last years in the hope that a collection of paragraphs about prominent persons might seem more newsy than the separate publication of the individual stories. Finally, just after the first of this year, the *Times* even matched the old *Trib's* ultimate "news package"—its "Other News to Note" column—with "Metropolitan Briefs," a collection of six or seven items apparently considered insufficiently interesting to stand on their own.

"Metropolitan Briefs" is the latest adaptation of the *Times* to the freedom from competition which it, the *Daily News*, and the *Post* have enjoyed since they—or rather since external forces—vanquished their competitors: the *Daily Mirror* and the *Herald Tribune* in the morning, and the *World-Telegram & Sun* and *Journal-American*, and their short-lived successor, the *World Journal Tribune*, in the afternoon. (The *Times* and the *News* are, of course, technical competitors in the morning field, but their primary audiences are widely disparate, and the sense of competition for both news and advertising is therefore limited.) Most of these adaptations have been accomplished gradually (in accordance with sound business practice for products with proven markets), but a twenty-year overview of the three papers af-

forded at least a basis for comparing their individual evolutions.

Accordingly, I arbitrarily selected the first Wednesdays of the years 1952, 1962, and 1972 for comparison—only to run up against the *Times*' national economic review in 1952. For that year, therefore, I turned to the following Wednesday and took column-inch measurements of the final editions of the *Times*, *Daily News*, and *Post* for Jan. 9, 1952, Jan. 3, 1962, and Jan. 5, 1972. Differences in type sizes, column width, and page sizes would render a comparison of the three newspapers with one another a project for mathematicians and computers; however, despite the *Post*'s switch from five to six columns several years ago, it was still possible to measure the growth—or diminution—of each of the papers compared to its own records of twenty and ten years ago in the established categories of foreign, national, and local news, pictures, and the space devoted to financial, sports, cultural, and women's news and features.

As it turned out, the three Wednesdays provided reasonably representative news days. In 1952, Captain Kurt Carlsen was valiantly struggling to keep his doomed *Flying Enterprise* afloat (the *Times*, typically, doggedly referred to the skipper by his formal name of Henrik, and the *News*, also typically, made over its final page 1 for a magnificent picture of him perched on the hull of his almost overturned ship). On Jan. 3, 1962, the city was suffering a strike on the Fifth Avenue bus lines, and this year's Jan. 5 papers announced increases in the transit fare and bridge-tunnel tolls.

Applied to the *Times*, the tape measure showed a substantial decrease in that paper's newshole: 38.6 per cent in 1952, 33.7 per cent in 1962, and then 34.5 per cent this year. Within the newshole itself, the most extensive change seemed to be the space and attention devoted to pictures. In the 1952 paper, forty-four pictures oc-

cupied 8.1 per cent of the editorial space; by 1972, there were sixty-three pictures which took up 14 per cent of the newshole.

Foreign news was the great loser in the *Times*. Twenty years ago it competed about equally in the paper with national and local news, and each received about 12 per cent of the editorial space. By 1972, foreign news was down to



The three papers in 1962—"The News also cut its newshole [but] increased foreign, national, and local reporting slightly."

about 5.3 per cent, national news to 10 per cent, and local news—the only gainer—held almost as much as both put together, 14.5 per cent. Finance, sports, culture, and women's news (despite altered makeups) held relatively constant allotments.

The most consistent of the three papers in its allocation of editorial space is the *Daily News*, but it also cut its newshole from 31.6 per cent in the 1952 paper to 28.2 per cent in 1972. Over the twenty-year period, the *News* increased its foreign, national, and local reporting by slight amounts, held fairly con-

stant on picture space, and jumped its financial coverage from one six-inch story in 1952 to a full page (and a percentage of 3.2) this year. Commendably, the increases in the news departments came at the expense of general feature material, which dropped from a 26.6 per cent allotment of editorial space in 1952 to 19.8 per cent in 1972. The *News* is still heavy with columnists (gossip and otherwise) and comic strips, of course, but at least the serialized novels and short short stories seem to have been banished from it.

That leaves the *Post*, now alone in the afternoon. The demise of its competition seems to have had some beneficial effect besides that on revenues: alone of the three newspapers, the *Post* has widened its newshole from 1952, when it was 26.9 per cent of the paper, through 38.8 per cent in 1962 to 42.4 per cent this year. Now that it is printing the full New York and American Stock Exchange tables in the afternoon, the *Post*, too, has dropped some of its miscellaneous features, and the percentage of its newshole devoted to non-news matter has fallen from 43.7 per cent in the 1952 paper through 39.4 in 1962 to 20.3 in 1972.

Because of the addition of the stock tables, news of finance was the big space gainer at the *Post*, rising from .3 per cent in 1952 to 15.8 per cent in 1972. Space allocated to cultural events more than doubled over the two decades, from 3.4 per cent in 1952 to 4.7 in 1962, and 8.8 this year. Foreign, national, and local news about held their own; women's news accounted for 1.6 per cent of the 1972 *Post*, and while that isn't much, it is a great deal more than the single item of four inches which took up .4 per cent in 1952.

The column-inch statistics, while indicating the importance that New York editors allot to the various categories of news, don't say anything about how well that news is reported by the papers. News cov-

erage and interpretation are subjective judgments, of course, and I don't intend to get into them, but after comparing newspapers over the twenty-year period, one trend stands out: The *Times* is reporting far fewer stories than it used to, while the *Post* is printing a lot more. Here the *News* was the least consistent. It reported sixty-three foreign, national, and local stories in 1952, soared to ninety-two in 1962, and fell to sixty-seven in 1972.

For the *Times*, the figures show an inverse proportion of space to stories, particularly for news handled by the metropolitan desk: Since 1952, editorial space occupied by local news has increased while the number of stories has been just about halved. On Jan. 9, 1952, seventy-five local items covered 491 inches of space; by Jan. 3, 1962, there were thirty-nine items in 486 inches; and on Jan. 5, 1972, thirty-eight in 656 inches. The national and foreign desks lost both space and stories. National had fifty-four stories in 1952, forty-two in 1962, and twenty-six this year; foreign, sixty-two in 1952, forty-two in 1962, and twenty-three this year.

Nowhere is this trend more apparent than in the obituaries. It used to be that any executive or member of the professions rated at least a paragraph in the *Times* when he died. In the 1952 paper, there were forty-five obituaries; by 1962, the number was down to twenty; and in the 1972 paper there were only twelve—and these included national and foreign figures as well as just seven from the metropolitan area.

While the *Times* has been reducing the number of stories, the *Post* has been increasing them—with almost all of this increase in the past few years. The afternoon tabloid printed forty-two foreign, national, and local stories in 1952, forty-three in 1962, and eighty-four in 1972. They're not yet up to the *Times* (which covered eighty-seven on Jan. 5, 1972), but they haven't far to go, and they might have made it if the

day I selected hadn't been the day the *Post* broke open several of its inside pages to publish the secret White House documents on the India-Pakistan war obtained by its columnist, Jack Anderson.

I am not saying anything about the quality of the stories covered by the papers or the coverage they re-

ward the more comprehensive presentation of the news that its editors do present: that is, reporting in depth.

Granted, many of the "in-depth" reports in the *Times* recently have furnished news throughout hundreds of column inches and were superbly competent, objective descriptions and analyses of their subjects. The Pentagon Papers story is the prime example, of course, but four other splendid "takeouts" (a *Times* word for them), come immediately to mind: a four-man probe several years ago into the city's hopelessly ensnared welfare administration; Richard Severo's series of articles on addicts and narcotics control measures; Anthony Lukas' Pulitzer Prize piece examining the lifestyles and backgrounds of a young couple slain in the East Village; and Jon Nordheimer's biography of a Congressional Medal of Honor winner killed last year as he attempted a holdup. In my judgment, the *Times*, when it finally got onto it, did a better job on Anderson's White House disclosures than the *Post* itself. There have been other examples, less newsworthy, perhaps, but nonetheless a credit to both the reporters and the newspaper, as well as a good many others that I couldn't finish reading.

As a reporter in New York, on the *Journal-American* and later on the *Herald Tribune*, I once envied *Times* men their higher pay scales, their prestige, and their greater opportunities to move up into foreign bureaus—but I pitied them their assignments. Incredibly, it seemed to me, fine *Times* reporters were "wasted" day after day in covering three-paragraph stories that other newspapers weren't interested enough in to lift from the Associated Press tickers. The *Trib*, we used to say, was the *writer's* newspaper—a flourish that may well stand as its epitaph. All the paper's vaunted writing, the clean, expressive typography that won it more Ayer cups than any other newspaper, and the innovative makeup



The papers in 1972—"The column-inch statistics . . . don't say anything about how well the news is covered."

ceived. There is also the fact that the *Times*, and to a lesser degree the *Daily News* through its parent Chicago Tribune Corporation, maintain bureaus in Washington and abroad and purvey news to other papers which subscribe to their respective news services, while the *Post* has one Washington correspondent and is a heavy consumer of news services and boilerplate and syndicated features. I am simply verifying the extent of the trend at the *Times*—which dropped its claim to being a "journal of record" several years ago—away from reporting as much of the news as possible and to-

that the *Herald Tribune* experimented with in its last years, amounted to nothing more than an attempt to "package" a paucity of news. The *Times*, on the other hand, disdained packaging and simply reported more. In the end the consumers chose the product over the package.

As Turner Catledge said when I talked to him in 1966, "The *Trib* had some great departments and good features and the writing was still pretty good, but in the last few years they just stopped trying to keep up with us in reporting what happened, and so, of course, the paper died." The name of the product, he pointed out, is "news-paper."

FRED C. SHAPIRO

Fred C. Shapiro, a former reporter for the New York *Journal-American* and *Herald Tribune*, is a writer for the *New Yorker*.

Subpoenaing newsmen: what effects?

■ When a cascade of subpoenas descended on newsmen's desks in the winter of 1970, there was widespread concern about the consequences. Would reporters' effectiveness suffer, and would the public thus be deprived of necessary information? Out of that concern came a telephone conversation between J. Anthony Lukas, then of the New York *Times*, and journalism dean Elie Abel at Columbia. Tony Lukas represented a group of newsmen who had formed a Reporters Committee on Freedom of the Press "to seek a broad, impartial study of newsmen's legal rights and responsibilities."

It was agreed that such a study was needed and that it should somehow involve both lawyers and journalists. We needed to know the

legal and litigation aspects of the problem and what newsmen themselves thought about the problem and their experiences with it.

Prof. W. Phillips Davison, director of research at Columbia's Graduate School of Journalism, devised a study plan and presented it to the Field Foundation of New York for a supporting grant. Vince Blasi, then of the Stanford Law School and now an associate professor of law at the University of Michigan, agreed to direct the study, and his writings are beginning to appear, including a definitive statement in two parts that will be published shortly in the *Michigan Law Review*. I was in charge of an empirical survey of newsmen's attitudes. Complete findings were reported to Prof. Blasi. A random collection is offered here.

Both Prof. Blasi and I conducted interviews. We sent questionnaires to some sixty persons, in all media, whom we had reason to believe might have had personal experience with subpoena. Either their names were well known or they had covered stories that were likely to engage the attention of law enforcement officials. We also sent to about 200 more randomly chosen names from a list of representative newspapers. The response rate was about 50 per cent, and we received qualitative reactions to our inquiries.

After we had these counts and comments, Prof. Blasi devised a shorter questionnaire, focused on matters that the earlier responses had shown were important, with box-check answers only and no comments. This went out last summer to 1,300 newsmen—bylines from the fifty largest daily newspapers, personnel of network radio and TV and local radio and TV stations, the subscription list of Liberation News Service, every other name on the membership list of the Society of Magazine Writers, wire service reporters, and news-magazines writers. Nearly 1,000 of these questionnaires were returned,

providing, we believe, an accurate quantitative view of what newsmen believe about the subpoena issue.

What did we find?

Nearly half (just under 46 per cent) of all reporters responding from all media don't know whether the states in which they work have shield laws or not.

Slightly more than 7 per cent of all respondents said that in the past eighteen months, coverage of a story had been adversely affected by the possibility of subpoena.

The number of reporters who have ever been subpoenaed during their whole careers was 18.5 per cent of our samples. (Only 8.5 per cent gave the information government asked for.)

Newsmen seem to be considerably exercised by the subpoena threat: a large majority considered it "a very important problem."

We were interested in how many stories depend on understandings of confidentiality. We divided the question according to two kinds of sources—those new to the reporter (the one-time sources) and sources that had helped the reporter on at least two occasions. Concerning one-time sources, more than 65 per cent of the newsmen estimate that 0 to 10 per cent of the stories they covered depended on confidentiality. On the same question about old sources, slightly fewer than 65 per cent of respondents were clustered in the zero to 25 per cent bracket—vividly illustrating that "old" sources produce many more stories based on confidentiality.

Broadcast reporters show the highest percentage of dependence on new sources, the one-time sources. Newsmagazine reporters show the highest percentage of dependence on two-or-more-occasion sources. General assignment reporters and feature writers tend to go more to one-time sources. Wire service reporters, police reporters, and financial writers depend more on two-or-more-time sources.

Investigative reporters, court reporters, and those who cover gov-

ernment show high percentages of stories that depend on confidences from both new and old sources, in equal numbers.

Of our respondents, 37 per cent said they had received confidential information from radical, militant, dissident, or other extremist sources; 51 per cent said they had not. Of those who said they had received confidential information from extremist sources, the percentage of dependence on two-or-more-occasion sources shot upward. Of newsmen who said they had been adversely affected by the threat of subpoena in the past eighteen months, nearly two-thirds said they had access to extremist sources.

Of those who claimed to have been adversely affected, court reporters led the list, followed by those who cover radical militants, then those who cover minority groups, then by investigative reporters. All these were above the mean. Below the mean were general assignment reporters, feature writers, police reporters, government reporters, financial reporters, sports reporters, those who cover the youth and education beat, and all other kinds of beat reporters.

Newsmagazine reporters and respondents from the underground press felt the subpoena threat more than other media. The younger the reporter the more he admits to being adversely affected by the subpoena threat.

On a scale of newsmen's privileges, an absolute privilege came in second to a position that read: "I believe that newsmen should have to testify to the authenticity of their stories and photographs, and to correct any mistake or distortion, but all other information should be privileged."

Given certain safeguards, 61.4 per cent of reporters feel they are adequately protected as to privilege.

Only 38.6 per cent want a stronger privilege. Some newsmen—apparently just under 10 per cent—want no privilege at all, but want to be treated like any other citizen.

The nature and severity of the crime involved obviously conditions a newsman's response to a subpoena. Capital offenses are more likely to bring out his testimony than are misdemeanors. Murder, bombing resulting in death, kidnapping, and offenses against national security ranked high on the scale; gambling, use of marijuana, possession of unregistered firearms, crossing state lines with intent to incite riot, and bombing resulting in property damage all ranked low.

Approximately 70 per cent of newsmen responding feel that whatever privilege they have should be extended to the underground press. About 60 per cent of the same sample would extend their privilege to the student press.

Nearly 70 per cent said they would be willing to go to jail rather than break a confidence.

A portion of the interviews and all the questionnaires sought to learn how newsmen thought a privilege might help them with their sources. Most often chosen (44 per cent of the sample): "Legal protection would make sources more willing to believe my current promises of confidentiality." Least often chosen (17.7 per cent): "Protection would eliminate my own inhibitions due to the subpoena threat in pursuing certain stories and publishing certain material."

The survey showed that absolute privilege was not the favored option, I think, because there is a perfectly proper fear that professional standards will be sacrificed—that privilege opens the door to unverified information, irresponsibility in a reporter, sensationalism, propaganda. "If a newsman is totally

protected from disclosure of his source," one of our sources commented, "what protection does this offer the public against opportunistic reporters willing to present spectacular information without adequate verification?"

Another clear conclusion from our questioning is a marked worsening of the relationship between press and government. Statistically, there was virtually no "police-shack mentality" in the newsmen we questioned. On the contrary, comments like this abounded: "There is a deliberate effort, a pervasive willingness, if not a conspiracy, to hale reporters before government agencies at all levels to reduce effectiveness or to disarm or defuse reporters who are threats."

Reporters felt they were being summoned because of a general pattern of disparagement of the media now in vogue. They sensed a form of harassment and effort to widen the credibility gap between the people and their news media. Our responses showed clearly a state of bad blood between press and government. Political motivation; a desire to punish; envy; hatred—these do not exhaust the list of charges that newsmen place at the door of police and prosecutors.

A final general comment concerns our question having to do with extremist sources. This rather shook the computer: It had so many corollary results throughout the whole questionnaire that this became a significant indicator of something general. That is, I believe, a conclusion that much of the current concern in journalism over the subpoena is closely related to the growth of dissent in our society.

RICHARD T. BAKER

Richard T. Baker is a professor of journalism at Columbia.

Secret admirer

—AP, Jan. 6.

SANTA MONICA, Calif. AP — Actress Raquel Welch, 31, was granted interlocutory divorce decree Thursday from her husband of nearly four years, film producer Patrick Curtis. She burst into tears while testifying of her "irreconcilable differences."

Books

U.S. press councils: how successful?

EDWARD W. BARRETT

BACK TALK: PRESS COUNCILS IN AMERICA. By William L. Rivers. Canfield Press, San Francisco. Paperbound, \$1.95.

□ Most of us who were in news reporting a few decades ago experienced, or at least heard about, cases of "publisher's office requests" to inflate a news story or to suppress another or to give special treatment to a favored citizen or group. And we recall how fledglings' protests about a publisher's interference usually caused some experienced hand to reply: "Well, it's his paper, and he can put in it any damned thing he wants."

This wasn't the atmosphere on all papers, but in too many. In some cases staffs were not to reason why, and the public could take it or leave it. William Peter Hamilton of the early *Wall Street Journal* was quoted as summing up the philosophy: "A newspaper is a private enterprise owing nothing whatever to the public. . . . It is emphatically the property of the owner, who is selling a manufactured product at his own risk." Legally and technically, of course, Hamilton was right. And in the days of multi-newspaper towns a publisher could be fiercely independent and even pigheaded, counting on the loyalty of those citizens who chose to read his particular paper.

Today, as this small book points out, economics have eliminated most of the papers, and the survivors have had to seek large and disparate audi-

ences. Sheer economic circumstance has made the established newspaper at least as much of a monopoly as the broadcast station—in some ways, more. And concerned citizens have a growing conviction that they deserve some say about their own channels of information. Meanwhile, scores of young staff members insist they should have some say about the standards of media to which they are devoting their careers.

Today we are groping for rational answers. Journalism reviews, in the tradition pioneered by this magazine, have sprung up at the local level to criticize the news media, which for so long dished it out without having to take it. Young volunteers from the profession do most of the work, sometimes poorly but often well. Occasional gadfly weeklies specialize in telling what the traditional media "don't tell you." And journalism councils for citizen critiquing of media, long advocated, have been tried in a few localities.

Back Talk, by that prolific and able student of the media, William L. Rivers of Stanford University, tells in detail of five of these experimental councils, generated and supported by the modestly financed Mellett Fund under the leadership of its president, Ben H. Bagdikian. Rivers, who coordinated the experiments, has written the first and last chapters; in the intervening six chapters his colleagues in the tryouts report on the experiments they oversaw. The experiments ran a limited period, in most cases a year to two years, and involved panels of citizens carefully selected to be reasonably representative.

The reports, detailing much of what council members and media executives said, make interesting reading, though they tend to repeat many of the questions and complaints that editors and broadcasters are accustomed to hearing. As the councils became better informed and the exchanges more frank, the discussions often grew more useful.

William B. Blankenburg reported on the press councils in Bend, Ore., and Redwood City, Calif., each of which was set up to meet regularly with the cooperative management of the one local newspaper. The nine citizen members of each group spent much time asking fairly elementary questions about newspaper operations. Then came

Edward W. Barrett, former dean of the Columbia Graduate School of Journalism, is director of the Communications Institute of the Academy for Educational Development and chairman of CJR's Board of Advisory Editors.

question-complaints: Why not more space for local concerns? Was a story unfair to a young man who was arrested? Later came better questions: Why not more local editorials instead of syndicated boilerplate? How about making a greater effort to understand and report black viewpoints?

Kenneth Starck's reports on councils in Sparta and Cairo, Ill., similarly cover councils which met about once a month with the management of each town's local paper. Each meeting usually lasted three or four hours in the evening. They covered some of the same sort of ground. In Sparta, council members also found editorials too often bland and news treatment too wary of stories that might be "bad for the town." Some wanted more followup on important one-day stories. They also found things to commend and didn't seek great change. In Cairo, blighted by economic woes and racial turmoil, black-white issues often predominated and spotlighted some real problems. In Starck's words, "That a press council made up of both blacks and whites even managed to survive a year in such a . . . city was remarkable. . . ."

In all four of these communities, the publishers and editors later said they found the councils useful. Some changes, like many more local editorials in Sparta, resulted. Ray Spangler, then the publisher in Redwood City, foresaw "great possibilities. . . . It gives the newspaper a sense of direct accountability and responsibility." Asked if the device threatened the independence of their papers, the publishers just smiled; they had found nothing even faintly to justify the acute fears of other publishers and editors in other towns. As for council members, in most (but not all) cases they said they ended the experience with a higher opinion of the local paper and its problems. Said Byron Skinner, a black schoolteacher in Redwood City: "Criticizing is easy, but reporting is a good deal harder than I thought." Surveys showed that readers who knew about the councils felt reassured about their newspapers.

The experience in St. Louis, reported by Earl Reeves, was far different. It was intended to be, for this was a large (thirty-member) "Communications Council" designed to deal with all local media and to focus on racial problems. Its biracial membership got into the familiar but very real prob-

lems common to most such discussions: The media tend to be "racist" ("That's not personal, just a result of the way you are staffed and set up"). "Only the police's side is told." Why "black" instead of "Negro"? Alleged misinterpretation and misuse of "militant." The "myth of objectivity," reflecting the "white man's subconscious view" of what is objective. The roots of "law and order." The need for more black staffers and the problem of recruiting them.

At one point a black inner-city leader lit a match and held it high, then observed: "You see how fascinated you are by fire. I can call a meeting of black businessmen in my office to talk about some constructive project, and you won't pay any attention at all. But if I announce that we are going to burn down Franklin Avenue, then every newspaper and television station in town will have their reporters there. You force us to make these statements in order to get your attention."

Media executives appeared with reasonable regularity and were generally cooperative. Some bridled at blunt allegations. Others said they got some new insights and liked the opening of channels of communication. No one seemed to feel more than a dent had been made in the problems.

In a wide-ranging and readable conclusion, Rivers observes that the experimental councils achieved no miracles but, in view of the rather modest goals, "were a distinct success." He also deals briefly with more recent U.S. councils, including Hawaii and Minnesota, as well as Britain. [See page 20; see also "Why We Lack a National Press Council, Fall, 1970.]

This reviewer commends the book to any interested in the general subject. At the same time, a few broader observations seem in order:

—These and most other council experiments in America have generally involved publishers and editors of unusual goodwill and desire to elicit citizen criticism and suggestions. Perhaps that explains why so few broad complaints—and no charges of willful misdeeds—emerged. Since this form of the council presupposes cooperative attitudes, the towns with the shabbiest media or the most arrogant ownerships are the least likely to try councils. Yet these experiments indicate that managements of reasonable character have noth-

ing to fear and definitely something to gain.

—The council, at least in this form, has value to the community and to the public-spirited media. It does not, however, nearly meet all the needs even in communities or areas where established. Perhaps in time council members would become somewhat more knowledgeable about what good journalism is and about what can reasonably be expected. In the foreseeable future, more sophisticated critiques from qualified professionals, as in the better local reviews, have a role to play.

—Modern society needs some form of citizen-plus-professional councils to state its needs and to praise and criticize what it is getting—even where some or all of the media dislike the idea. The ideal ways and means are not yet fully apparent, but they can be found. Their only weapon should be that of marshalling public opinion. When they do come, they will provide a strong bulwark against government interference, open or covert.

Ray Spangler once deflated his Redwood City council by reciting a couplet:

In all our towns and all our cities,
There are no statues to committees.

When the more advanced councils come, their members can look forward to hard work, significant public service, and little glory.

Book Notes

WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT. By Charles H. Brown. Scribner's. \$12.50.

□ This is an era in which, unhappily, our best poets do not become newspaper editors, or the reverse. It was not always thus. In the nineteenth century, New York journalism gained distinction from the presence not only of Walt Whitman but, even more, of the now semi-observed William Cullen Bryant. It may be that Bryant has suffered from being depicted in English classes as a promising teen-age poet ("Thanatopsis") who went off to New York and let his talent go to seed.

In fact, Bryant left not a literary career but an uncherished law office in the Berkshires. He joined the *Evening Post* in 1826, became editor in 1829, and remained, until his death in 1878, the strongest, most distinguished voice of liberalism in the metropolis. In turn a Jackson Democrat, a Free-Soiler, and an independent Republican, he covered a span equal in this century's terms to the distance from Wilson to Nixon. In the end he became a kind of national institution. Vernon L. Parrington, in his appreciation of Bryant in *Main Currents in American Thought*, called him "the father of nineteenth-century American journalism as well as the father of nineteenth-century American poetry."

This new biography is a heavyweight (522 pages) that aspires, with justice, to the accolade of "definitive." Its author, a professor of journalism at Pennsylvania State University, five years ago gave us a vital and entertaining chronicle in *The Correspondents' War*, an account of Spanish-American war reporters. He had a more exacting task in Bryant. Bryant's life was singularly lacking in climactic events, once he had settled in New York. Instead, his intellectual career became intertwined with the great national political turbulence that preceded the Civil War. On the side, he continued to tinker with poetry, to travel, to push the *Post* toward prosperity, and to gather about him an ever increasing celebrity. Yet the crux of his life—although Bryant was reluctant to admit it—was his relationship to the issues of slavery, civil liberties, and free trade.

It seems that Brown must sometimes give short shrift to Bryant's intellectual development in the press of retelling his life's business. Much of this detail is fascinating—Bryant's career as a "fitness nut," pole-vaulting over his bed in his eighties; his tangled, distressed relations with his son-in-law, Parke Godwin, who appeared to be able neither to stay at the *Post* with Bryant nor to stay away; and, not least, the gradual personal changes in Bryant from a reserved young lion (looking, in his 1825 portrait, somewhat like Charlton Heston) to the bearded, flowing-haired senior philosopher. Brown senses well the paradoxes of Bryant's character—his apparent chilliness balanced against an unstinting generosity toward past opponents.

Occasionally Brown appears to be trapped by his raw materials. (His major resources were the Bryant manuscripts in the New York Public Library, which is in the park named for Bryant.) A good deal of routine travel is recounted in detail because Bryant happened to have written descriptive letters. Moreover, the biographer often lets himself be interrupted by irrelevancies simply to preserve a chronological order.

None of this is meant to derogate Brown's industry or accuracy. The biography certainly achieves its major objective—to give our time a full account of one of the most memorable careers in American journalism and literature.

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF COL. McCORMICK'S TRIBUNE 1929-1941. By Jerome E. Edwards. University of Nevada Press. \$7.

□ This study is mildly deceptive at the start. Edwards leads one to think that he is going to offer a reappraisal of Colonel Robert R. McCormick's Chicago *Tribune* that will somehow put the publisher and his paper in a more favorable light than folklore has assigned them. Edwards does go so far as to absolve McCormick of holding personal pro-Nazi sympathies, but the rest of the magnificent foolishness remains—McCormick's cranky anglophobia, his militaristic pacificism or pacificistic militarism, his frantic and fraudulent efforts to beat Roosevelt in 1936, and his stridency in the battle over intervention before Pearl Harbor. The author, a professor of history at the University of Nevada, Reno, has summed it all up dispassionately, avoiding much of the dullness that can result from summarizing old editorial pages.

THE ALFRED I. duPONT-COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY SURVEY OF BROADCAST JOURNALISM 1970-1971: A STATE OF SIEGE. Edited by Marvin Barrett. Grosset & Dunlap. Paperbound, \$1.95.

□ Here is the third annual report of an ambitious effort, housed at the Columbia Graduate School of Journalism, to describe and assay the activity of American broadcasters. With each volume, the report assumes increasing importance as

the historical record of an elusive medium. Attention centers this time on government-broadcaster relations, with a whole chapter devoted to the controversy over *The Selling of the Pentagon* and with the script printed in full as an appendix. (However, the duPont jury pointedly omitted *Selling* from its list of awards, honoring CBS News instead for its *Justice in America*.) The volume again contains individual supplementary articles, notably a discussion by Jerome Barron of recent evolution of the Fairness Doctrine.

MASS CULTURE REVISITED. Edited by Bernard Rosenberg and David Manning White. Van Nostrand Reinhold. \$10.95; paperbound, \$5.95.

□ In a sense, *Mass Culture Revisited* revives a subject that has faded somewhat since the Fifties, when the same pair of editors issued their *Mass Culture: The Popular Arts in America*. However, this generous-sized volume is not a rehash but a full-scale successor to the 1957 collection, with many discussions of the current state of the mass media. The editors are to be thanked for breaking with usual anthologizing practice to include a good share of previously unpublished material.

MASS MEDIA AND THE SUPREME COURT: THE LEGACY OF THE WARREN YEARS. Edited by Kenneth S. Devol. Hastings House. \$14.50.

□ This collection differs from other recent compilations in dealing only with cases involving the nonbusiness aspects of the media. Quite rightly, it centers on the recent period that produced the first real flowering of constitutional doctrine regarding the press. The editor, a journalism-law specialist who heads the journalism department at San Fernando State College, has enriched the volume by including not only court decisions but authoritative commentary. This may be the first full-scale collection, incidentally, to include the Pentagon Papers case of June, 1971.

JAMES BOYLAN

Unfinished business

We send people around a bit, too. I went to Vietnam twice for war coverage, for instance, and have covered stories throughout Europe, the Middle East, and the Caribbean. So have others of our staff gone beyond our parochial precincts for news and features.

LLOYD WENDT
Editor & Publisher
Chicago Today

Advertising or editorial?

TO THE REVIEW:

We are always flattered when the name of *Editor & Publisher* is mentioned in another publication, whether it be kind or critical. But it seems your "Dart" [January/February] was straining at a gnat.

The Post Office Department, which keeps track of these things and has rules about properly identifying advertisements that do not look like advertisements, did not raise an eyebrow or question that eighteen-page advertisement of the American Forest Institute.

You might also like to know that that issue contained institutional advertisements placed by AT&T, Republic Steel, Esso, and Bethlehem Steel, none of which carried the slug "advertisement" for the very simple reason that they as well as the insert from the American Forest Institute were obviously paid advertising.

ROBERT U. BROWN
President
Editor & Publisher

Chicago 'Today' reaches out

TO THE REVIEW:

D. J. R. Bruckner ["'High Noon' in Chicago," January/February] says, "Today has to depend on UPI and the [New York] Times service for almost anything that happens outside Illinois. . . ."

We do not use UPI. We do use AP, NANA, the New York News, Knight Newspapers, Christian Science Monitor, WNS, and, from time to time, the London Telegraph. Mike Coakley, our Washington correspondent, is the best in the business, we think.

Shame and sportswriting

TO THE REVIEW:

Bill Surface's discussion of "The Shame of the Sports Beat" [January/February] was overdue and understated, I thought, particularly with regard to criticisms about the partisan nature of many sports pages and the hucksterism of TV sports coverage.

Journalism education and perhaps the *Review* might pay still more attention to criticism of sports news because the shortcomings, deception, and escapism inherent in much of sports coverage are disquieting examples of problems with reporting in general.

HERBERT STRENTZ
Chairman
Department of Journalism
University of North Dakota

TO THE REVIEW:

Bill Surface cites *Sports Huddle*, "a weekly discussion program on station WBZ in Boston whose participants visualize themselves as sports ombudsmen," and notes that Weston Adams, president of the Boston Bruins, has denounced the sportscasters. Last summer, *Sports Huddle* was discontinued by WBZ—the station that carries the live broadcasts of Bruin games. [*The program now is on WEEI (CBS)—Ed.*]

This sad case is just one more piece of evidence that can be used to substantiate Surface's claims.

STAN BARAN
Northampton, Mass.

TO THE REVIEW:

In his otherwise excellent article, Bill Surface erred when he implied that the Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin* was first with the story of college player Howard Porter's secret contract with the American Basketball Association. The *Bulletin* followed Frank Barrows of the Charlotte *Observer*, which published details of the contract on Jan. 24, 1971, nearly a week before Philadelphia did.

SANDRA J. WHITE
Columbus, O

EDITOR'S NOTE: Mr. Surface comments, "Mr. Barrows' investigation did initiate allegations that the ABA appeared to be secretly signing All-Americans before college seasons ended. The 'Bulletin' followed, but with forceful details on the Porter case which resulted in his college team in Philadelphia having to forfeit all its games. Both the 'Observer' and 'Bulletin' are to be commended."

Policing advertising

TO THE REVIEW:

Peter Sandman's analysis and "highly descriptive" presentation of the F-310 campaign leave little doubt in the reader's mind that the advertising has been judged false and misleading ["Who Should Police Environmental Advertising?" January/February]. We were under the distinct impression that F-310 was to be used as an example of a controversial campaign rather than one that was to be judged in the press, with benefit of "trial."

We particularly note the following:

Mr. Sandman either did not read, or chose to ignore, the data and information contained in Standard's Motion for Reconsideration and Disqualification to the FTC that was provided to him. He has made a very substantial miscalculation in the "\$13 million" being spent on the campaign. He has erroneously referred to F-310 as a detergent additive of a type that has been "routinely used . . . for several decades."

He accurately described how F-310 works in dirty engines, but did not point out that the majority of cars on the road are exactly in this category (high exhaust emitters) and that through the use of F-310 an overall reduction of unburned hydrocarbon and carbon monoxide of some 10 to 15 per cent could be achieved by the total car population—i.e., results from the Pasadena Rose Bowl Test (all such data were made available to him). He stated that F-310 was not a new kind of formula, yet did not mention that it had been patented.

He has focused on the fact that Standard used a building for a "set" or "prop" in the filming when it is obvious that such a widely accepted practice had no bearing on the claims made for the product. I am at a loss to understand why he included this reference other than the possibility that he intended to give the impression that with this "misrepresentation," other facets of the campaign were possibly false.

The very discussion of the F-310 campaign in his article *as written*, in contrast to what he said he was going to write, indicates that in his judgment the campaign was false and misleading.

On page 47 he has stated that [FTC] Chairman Kirkpatrick has instituted a procedure that requires deceptive advertisers to inform the public of the FTC's findings. What Mr. Sandman neglects to state, however, is that this innovation is a selective one and does not necessarily apply to all advertisers found to be guilty. Again, a rather significant point that was omitted.

F. T. FENTON
Assistant Manager
Advertising Department
Standard Oil Company
of California
San Francisco

TO THE REVIEW:

I was extremely disappointed that Mr. Sandman never mentioned the Council on Economic Priorities, one of the groups doing the most these days to gather facts and prepare critiques, thus making possible any

policing of environmental advertising which occurs.

The CEP's critiques, with their attendant publicity and news coverage, are themselves a form of policing. For example, the CEP's *Economic Priorities Report* for September-October, 1971, was devoted entirely to "Corporate Advertising and the Environment." This *Report* was the best thing I have seen on the subject.

CEP's address: 456 Greenwich Street, New York City 10013.

DURRETT WAGNER
The Swallow Press
Chicago

On airing firings

TO THE REVIEW:

The *Review* did a great service to working newsmen by publishing Louis Alexander's report of Mrs. Janice Law's firing by the Houston *Chronicle* [January/February].

Many journalists lose their jobs because, in pursuing stories, they anger people in a position to fire them, or have them fired. The *Review* would do all journalists—and the public—an invaluable service by examining as many cases as possible where it appears the journalist lost his job because she or he angered the wrong people.

I personally documented two such instances in Los Angeles, one involving a newsmen, the other—unfortunately—involving myself. Coverage in the *Review* would be particularly welcome in Los Angeles, because it is impossible to get a job in journalism once one has fallen out of favor with one of the large newspapers or radio-TV news departments.

Many of the city's best journalists—judging by their honors while still employed—are out of work today because they are in disfavor with former employers.

TONY SHULTZ
Assistant Professor
Journalism Department
California State College
Long Beach

'On the Road'

TO THE REVIEW:

One of Charles Kuralt's former colleagues at CBS, Bob Gregory, who is now vice president of news and special events for Leake Television, Inc., is an enthusiastic emulator of the Kuralt technique ["Reporting the 'Little People,'" January/February]. Before I left KTUL-TV, Tulsa, Okla., for my present position, Bob Gregory, photographer Bob Welsh, and I often found ourselves on and in the backwoods and roads of Oklahoma and Arkansas.

The field is fertile enough so that KTUL is producing a monthly hour-long special that often features several On the Road stories.

The Kuralt idea is a tough one to copy, but it can be done at the local level with imaginative editing, and excellent reporting and writing. The most important ingredient, however, is the encouragement of an enthusiastic management.

JOHN HAMILL
Press Secretary to Rep.
Joseph E. Karth
Fourth District
State of Minnesota

Food pages revisited

TO THE REVIEW:

I enjoyed reading Richard Karp's article "Newspaper Food Pages: Credibility for Sale" [November/December]. I found it most interesting and provocative, as it shed light on "what's happening."

BESS MYERSON
Commissioner
Department of Consumer Affairs
City of New York

TO THE REVIEW:

Apologizing Richard Karp's article, isn't it a further embarrassment to food editors that even the Consumer and Marketing Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture "names names" in releases concern-

ing food processing firms which don't meet federal standards? When a governmental agency shows more courage than newspaper editors, something is wrong with the editors.

WILL MOLINEUX
Williamsburg Manager
The Daily Press, Inc.
Newport News, Va.

TO THE REVIEW:

Richard Karp must have searched diligently for the dishonest, which of course is to be found. He ignores the facts of life in the business world we live in.

In our under-50,000-circulation newspaper, we do not mention brand names except in the "new products" column. Readers appreciate hearing about new items which they may buy or not, as they choose. I am not a home economist or nutritionist, and most food editors aren't, so we don't presume to give advice on these subjects, but rely on authorities and give the source.

MRS. LILLIAN AUSTIN
Fort Myers News-Press
Fort Myers, Fla.

TO THE REVIEW:

We wish to deal specifically with the annual Newspaper Food Editors Conference, sponsored by the American Association of Newspaper Representatives. The AANR is composed of firms which sell advertising space for their client newspapers, and also major newspapers which may not employ a representative firm.

The professionalism we seek to bring to our efforts requires a deep interest in the character of the product we sell, reflected in an active concern with the constantly growing role of the newspaper as a service medium to its readers. Failing to recognize this newspaper function is the first symptom of Mr. Karp's untutored approach to his subject.

As to the Newspaper Food Editors Conference: the idea for it was originated by Grace Hartley, food editor of the *Atlanta Journal*, and

was developed with her guidance by Jake Sawyer, representative for the paper. The object was to provide food editors the opportunity to update readers on wartime developments in new products, nutrition, bring fresh ideas into homemaking, etc.

The conference runs for six days, not five. Food editors are "wined and dined," in the sense that each meal function is hosted by program participants. Each newspaper picks up its editor's tab for transportation, accommodations, and all incidentals. (Except, it should be noted, that some food editors feel the conference to be so helpful in their work that they use vacation time to attend. Some pay their own expenses.)

Food companies and associations of all sizes participate—not just a "host of giants." Companies with nationally distributed brands qualify as a matter of course, not only because of their geographic scope but also because of their continuing new-product development and research, broad range of products, and because their home economics departments develop a continuing flow of information helpful to homemakers.

Karp states that the criterion for acceptance of a company or association as a conference participant is its newspaper advertising expenditure. Not so. In fact, the primary criterion is the information it brings to the conference. There is no "unwritten agreement," either real or fancied, between any number of newspapers of any size and AANR on "plugging brands." Editors and publishers make editorial policy. The AANR does not.

No one is "enticed" to indulge in puffery for a company or association. Rather, at the positive behest of the food editors, participants are urged to concentrate on hard news, new ideas, and substantive information. Food editors are not "required" to attend each company's "exhibit." They are urged to attend each portion of the program. The AANR committee cannot "require" a food editor to do anything.

The Food Editors' Advisory Committee does indeed inform the AANR committee of the wishes of

the food editors concerning conference content, which seems like a great idea. During the conference, however, the food editors spend a full afternoon in their own workshops (not just an hour). They hold an additional closed meeting to critique the conference, and the Advisory Committee also holds a midweek critique.

No quote credited to Miss Agnes Beck is correct. Like Winnie Winkle, Karp makes skirts out of scraps. (Which lends credibility to our belief that statements ascribed to food editors were constructed in the same way.) Food editors do not misconstrue the AANR to be an "editorial association." Year by year its primary mission is explained to them—and they also understand that the object of the conference is to make newspapers a more important service medium to homemakers.

There is no "waiting list" for participation in the conference. Each year's program is planned from scratch, and those who cannot be included are invited to ask again the next year. We are not "coerced" into including any participant. Each year many are anxious to be included who cannot be accommodated, including many who are persuasive in their pleas.

For the 1970 conference, the Cereal Institute applied for participation and was invited to attend a full sixty days before "the cereal companies came under attack." Dr. Frederick J. Stare did speak for the cereal companies—not only spoke for them, but stayed for questions. (By contrast, in 1971, Senator Moss fled from the podium to "catch a plane.") Parenthetically, we should add that Virginia Knauer addressed the conference in 1969; the Advisory Committee did not "pressure to hear," but expressed an interest in, Choate and Nader for 1970; and the food companies did not "overrule."

Participating companies build their own programs, which may include eminent and qualified nutritionists as well as speakers such as Senator Moss, Virginia Knauer, and others who are interesting but may not revolutionize the care and feeding of families. The companies are provided an outline of the ex-

pressed wishes of the food editors as to the sort of program in which they have greatest interest.

If, as Karp states, the American press "found the cereal exposé sufficiently shocking to keep it on the front pages for weeks," might not qualified nutritionists—namely Dr. Stare—be allowed to speak on behalf of the cereal people? He is, at the very least, professionally qualified—an asset we did not ever hear as being ascribed to Choate either in the press or by those trained in nutrition.

The newspaper food section is a creature of the changing role of newspapers in post-World War II years, marked by substantially expanded service departments—expanded financial coverage, coverage of participating sports, health, personal advice, interpretive reporting, etc.

The anonymous supermarket operator seemed to catch the significance of this, which an unschooled reporter might miss, when he said that "surveys show that 85 per cent of the people who read the paper on the day that the food section appears read the food section."

Any editor who can get 85 per cent readership past the front page of his paper can write his own ticket—he is a genius and he has an unrivaled communications medium. (In fact, authoritative studies show approximately 75 per cent female readership of food sections—which makes the food section a highly viable vehicle and one which would surely not remain so on a diet of pap.)

Karp credits "one-quarter" of 1970 retail advertising total—\$3.26 billion—as coming from food advertisers. Actually, retail food advertising accounted for roughly 10 to 15 per cent of total retail advertising during 1970 in twenty top newspapers we checked. It cannot accurately be said that food sections were spawned to develop this advertising. More correctly, they grew together. As Karp says, "everybody eats," and everything we eat is an advertised or private-label brand processed or handled by some food company (which is eligible to be in the Newspaper Food Editors Conference).

Housewives gobble up food editorial material because they are interested in feeding their families better, with more variety, and as economically as possible. In the final analysis, their newspaper food editor gives them more help in this respect than anybody else. Obviously, they are interested in new recipes for oatmeal cookies and—happily—oatmeal cookies are appetizing and nutritious.

In the opening of our San Francisco conference (1970), we pointed out to the food editors in part, "You have a great obligation, and a great opportunity—but best of all, you have the great faith of the ladies who buy and prepare the groceries. In your special field, you can make consumerism a movement of real and beneficial substance rather than a trite expression mouthed by politicians and bureaucrats."

Karp seems to feel that food editors and newspaper food pages can be of greater service to newspaper readers. If such be the case, the subject deserves better than the McCarthyist approach which he employs.

AGNES M. BECK
Conference Coordinator

KEVIN P. (TED) CRONIN
1969 Chairman

JAMES T. RITTER
1970 Chairman

ROBERT L. MATTHEI
1971 Chairman

BERNARD GINGOLD
1972 Chairman

TO THE REVIEW:

Richard Karp and the *Review* are guilty of amateurishness and irresponsibility far beyond any charges in the indictment itself. On virtually every point with which I have direct personal knowledge, a pattern of hysteria obscures what, sadly, might have been a useful analysis of an important and justly controversial editorial area.

Was it hysteria (or food poisoning) which led Mr. Karp to identify the Miami *Herald's* George Beebe as George Beete? Or Polly Pafillas as Polly Pafillas? Or Roberta Mackey

as Detroit *Free Press* food editor? (The current *Free Press* food writer is Toni Bettisworth. Before that it was Kay Savage.) Or a number of editors as Miss who are Mrs.?

And, in his enthusiasm to find brand codes under every byline, Karp identifies "tomato-based hot sauce" as a crypto-plug which "can only increase the sales of the Tabasco" company. Minimal reportorial checking would have taught Karp that Tabasco contains not a whiff of tomato, being made entirely from red peppers grown on or near Avery Island, La.

Karp quotes me, "Well, I don't accept a trip and then not write an article about it." I never said it, to him or anyone else. I don't set out to attend a function, then not write about it, but occasionally an event that promises news does not deliver.

Karp also might have reported that the Choate cereal "flap" had been covered in considerable detail on the front pages of the *Inquirer*. That it was not covered by me personally seems utterly irrelevant. There is a gaping flaw in the logic of someone who says that a newspaper evades controversy, or bows to advertiser pressure, by playing an article on page 1 rather than page 4.

Karp claims that editors swallowed Fred Stare's defense of the cereal producers at the Newspaper Food Editors Conference in San Francisco. He doesn't mention that many editors, this one included, did not believe or accept Stare's biased declaration and returned to our papers recommending that his weekly column be dropped "for lack of credibility." This newspaper dropped the column as a result of my suggestion.

He criticizes food editors for not taking the responsibility to query the industry or probe sources, and suggests they lack the interest to do so. The truth is that many food editors are chained to desk and phone. The day this was written there were eighteen calls from readers requesting information, and this was not an especially heavy day. The hours and days necessary to make thorough investigations of controversial subjects usually don't exist, and until newspapers can find money

in their budgets to expand food departments to include assistants and secretaries this limitation will continue.

Karp claims that 90 per cent of the recipes and stories that appear in newspapers are releases supplied to food editors by vast corporate manufacturers, agencies, and trade associations. He does not mention that at least 90 per cent of the material received from these sources is rejected by editors as impractical, inaccurate, just plain unappealing, or uneditably commercial. What is left gets into the food pages because the editor feels it is what readers want or need to know.

Had Karp checked to find out what goes into the preparation of original recipes and food photographs he would understand that it is virtually impossible for a lone editor to originate the quantity of material necessary to fill a good section on a week-to-week basis. We occasionally develop our own material. Most recently, a Christmas dinner photograph required weeks of preliminary planning, then four full working days to set up and photograph. (I did planning, shopping, decorating, and cooking.)

He speaks of newspapers pouncing on food editors who use brand names in stories. This writer, years ago, received some gentle pressure (a note) from a member of our advertising sales staff. I reported the incident to my editors, and the advertising department was told "hands off." It was the last time there was even implied pressure from anyone in the *Inquirer's* advertising department.

Barbara Rader of *Newsday* may have accepted a discount from GE, but that does not mean this is standard practice. I've completely remodeled two kitchens in my nine years at the *Inquirer*. Each time I (not the *Inquirer* or anyone else) paid full price for everything (including two GE ranges).

Mrs. (not Miss) Rader is quoted on the Newspaper Food Editors Conference. Her credentials as an authority on the subject seem absurd, since she is quoted as saying she does not attend the event. As

someone who does attend, and as chairman of the 1972 Food Editors Conference Advisory Board, I can say that as long ago as 1967 (which is where the records that were turned over to me as chairman begin), editors were demanding that the conference provide "more outstanding speakers with a real message—such as Paul Dudley White," "more hard news," "more on nutrition," "more on packaging," "much less food" and "no gifts" (the no-gift motion was unanimously approved by the editors at the 1967 closed meeting).

A proof of the news value of various programs can be found in the coverage given these events. Interesting stories are filed. The others are ignored. It's as simple as that. When a food company gets little coverage year after year, it usually gets the message and comes up with a story with value, or drops out of the conference entirely.

I could continue, but Karp is wrong so often that the only real correction would be a new piece.

ELAINE TAIT
Food Editor
Philadelphia Inquirer

TO THE REVIEW:

Several food writers have, for several years, looked in vain for a food editors conference set up by a group such as the American Press Institute. They feel there is value in meeting at least once a year. At present, there is only one way this can be done. They'd be happy to hear of an independent conference with independent speakers. Any suggestions?

PEGGY DAUM
Food Editor
Milwaukee Journal

Euthanasia in Toronto?

TO THE REVIEW:

It is too bad an apologist for monopoly-capitalism ownership in the media like Garth Hopkins was al-

lowed the last word in the *Review's* report on the demise of the *Toronto Telegram* [PASSING COMMENT, January/February].

Hopkins' view that there's nothing "sinister or ulterior in a decision to stop an enterprise that is losing you several million dollars a year" is just too facile an epitaph for the *Telegram*. As late as 1968 the *Telegram* was making money. Almost everyone who studied in depth the *Telegram's* position and potential was convinced it could survive and be profitable again—including a management consultant and acknowledged newspaper expert hired by the owner last year.

There are many ex-*Telegram* staff members, including myself, who will never be convinced the paper wasn't killed for its owners' economic benefit. The competing afternoon *Daily Star* paid \$10 million for a circulation list of dubious value, plus \$2 million to rent the presses for two years. The morning *Globe and Mail* bought the building, land, and equipment and will take over when the *Star's* lease expires. Altogether the probable worth of the deal to close the *Telegram* is almost twice what the owners were prepared to sell it for as late as August—as a going concern.

As an economist for the Canadian Senate's special committee on mass media in 1969-70, Hopkins was way out of step philosophically with the committee's conclusions. The senators said in their report, "This country should no longer tolerate a situation where the public interest in so vital a field as information is dependent on the greed or goodwill of an extremely privileged group of businessmen" [Vol. I, page 67].

No one said it so tersely as A. J. Liebling in his book *The Press*: "Money is not made by competition among newspapers, but by avoiding it. The wars are over, and the newspaper owners are content to buy their enemies off, or just to buy them. . . ." That may be a satisfactory condition for Hopkins, but it is not for all of us.

MARC ZWELLING
President
Toronto Newspaper Guild
Toronto, Ontario

Financing public TV

TO THE REVIEW:

I read with interest "Public TV: Why Still a Stepchild?" by Julius Duschka [November/December]. I agree with many of his statements concerning the funding, programming, and quality of public TV. It is very difficult for either a public corporation or a private firm to develop a fourth TV network that could compete with the three established networks.

Public TV has made several noteworthy productions for the general public, but they have not received the publicity many network "specials" have. Public acceptance, I think, is part of the problem that public TV faces today. Many people still think that their local independent station, operated by a university, state government, or other institution, is all educational. We know this is not true, but does the audience know?

RAYMOND J. BREDEMANN
News and Public Affairs
Southern Illinois University
Broadcasting Service
Carbondale, Ill.

Attribution and Attica

TO THE REVIEW:

Brian Donovan, as quoted in "Looking Back on Attica" [PASSING COMMENT, November/December], states that the New York Times (which means me; I wrote the account) reported deaths by throat-slashing, mutilations, and atrocities

during the retaking of Attica prison by state troopers. He says, and the Review repeats, that the account in the Times was unattributed.

I call your attention to the following paragraphs, which appeared in all editions of the Times of Sept. 14, the day the account of the retaking was printed.

Paragraph three listed the alleged causes of death of prisoners and hostages. Paragraphs six, seven, and eight read:

Late today a deputy director of correction, Walter Dunbar, said that two of the hostages had been killed "before today" and that one had been stabbed and emasculated.

Of the remaining seven, five were killed instantly by the inmates and two died in the prison hospital.

Mr. Dunbar said that in addition to the twenty-eight dead inmates, eight other convicts of the total of 2,237 were missing. Two of the dead prisoners, he said, were killed "by their own colleagues and lay in a large pool of blood in a fourth-tier cellblock."

FRED FERRETTI
The New York Times

EDITOR'S NOTE: Brian Donovan comments, "The point of the article was that a lot of reporters, including me, at first accepted as the truth some parts of the erroneous official account of how hostages died at Attica and, as a result, wrote stories in which assertions were presented as facts. One example I used was

from the third paragraph of Ferretti's Sept. 14 story. It read: 'In this worst of recent American prison revolts, several of the hostages—prison guards and civilian workers—died when convicts slashed their throats with knives.' In the passage he quotes in his letter, Ferretti gives another example: 'Of the remaining seven [dead hostages], five were killed instantly by the inmates. . . .'

"In neither sentence was the information attributed to the officials who were spending much of Sept. 13 trying to justify the carnage they had helped create. A technical point, maybe, but a fairly important one.

"The article also quoted Ferretti's boss, metropolitan editor Arthur Gelb, who told me, 'There's no question that we should have attributed. It's a lesson we have all learned.'"

For the record

TO THE REVIEW:

The Historical Research Foundation has nothing to do with Joseph Keeley's *The Left-Leaning Antenna* [BOOKS, November/December]. The book was conceived in our office. We approached Mr. Keeley, he agreed to write the book, and we signed a conventional author-publisher contract. No foundation or outside financing was involved.

NEIL McCAFFREY
President
Arlington House, Publishers
New Rochelle, N.Y.

Crossed wires

(With apologies to AP and UPI.)

UPI-42

(NAME)

WASHINGTON--MRS. MAHIE EISENHOWER WILL BE HONORED ON HER 7TH BIRTHDAY SEPT. 29 WITH A DIAMOND JUBILEE BANQUET THAT WILL FEATURE

—AP, Aug. 17.

—Columbia Journalism Review,
January/February

REPORT ON REPORTS

Summaries and reviews
of current literature in journalism

"CBS and Congress: 'The Selling of the Pentagon' Papers," Educational Broadcasting Review, Winter 1971-72.

Letters, committee reports, and other documents connected with Congressional controversy over CBS-TV's *The Selling of the Pentagon* are collected in a valuable 144-page special issue.

"Magazines: The Medium Gets the Message," by Stephen Isaacs, Washington Post, January 2, 3, 4, 5; "The DoD Magazine Empire," by Bernadine M. Kopec, Armed Forces Journal, August, 1971.

A series by *Post* staff member Isaacs cogently summarizes recent changes in American magazine publishing, and the *Journal's* assistant editor critically surveys the many periodicals published by the Department of Defense.

"The Unsinkable Monitor," by James Higgins, Boston magazine, December, 1971; "Rolfe Neill and His Tiny Electric Tabloid," by Maury Levy, Philadelphia magazine, December, 1971; "Confessions of a Chronicle Editor," by Lance Tapley, San Francisco Bay Guardian, December 22, 1971; "Harder Times at The Times," by Chris Welles, New York magazine, January 17; "The Making of America's 'Most-Trusted' Newspaper," by William F. Kerby, Michigan Business Review, November, 1971.

Up-to-date views of five disparate American newspapers: the *Christian Science Monitor*, Philadelphia *Daily News*, San Francisco *Chronicle*, New York *Times*, and *Wall Street Journal*.

"Electronic Journalism" by John Chancellor, "Print Journalism" by Harrison Salisbury, Playboy, January, 1972.

Thoughtful views by NBC-TV's anchorman and the editor of the New York *Times's* Op Ed page on serious failings of the news media.

"Cairo Newspaper—House Organ for Whites," by Leonard Boscarine, Focus/Midwest 1971, Number 54.

A bitter reminiscence by a former reporter-photographer for the Cairo, Ill., *Evening Citizen*.

"Is Television News Biased?" by Paul H. Weaver, the Public Interest, Winter, 1972; "One Hour of TV News Equals 10 Columns of a Newspaper Page," by Jack Lyle and Richard A. Stone, ANPA News Research Bulletin, November 24, 1971; "How Television News Covers the World," by Martin Mayer, Esquire, January, 1972; "Sound and Banter, Signifying Little," by Frank Barnako, Chicago Journalism Review, January, 1972; "Is It News . . . Or Is It Show Biz?" by Don Smith, Atlanta magazine, November, 1971.

Five critical views of TV as a news source, by, respectively, a Harvard political scientist, two UCLA academics, a noted social critic, an NBC reporter, and an Atlanta writer.

"Boston: Home of the Bean, the Cod, and WGBH," by Edith Efron, TV Guide, December 18, 1971; "The World's Richest TV Station," by Bill Greeley, (More), January.

TV Guide staff member entertainingly portrays WGBH as "an astonishingly creative and innovative station, intensely sensitive to many aspects of Boston Life"; and *Variety* reporter Greeley criticizes New York's profitable WNBC-TV for lacking studios, a news department, and, "in an ordinary 21-hour broadcast day . . . one half-hour of programming . . . genuinely . . . its very own."

"Piece of the Action: Blacks Seeking Control of Big-City Cable TV Face Uphill Struggle," by Monroe W. Karmin, Wall Street Journal, December 29, 1971.

A *Journal* staff member reports on black Americans' thus-far unrewarding efforts to obtain some control over CATV franchises for areas with large black populations.

"The New New York Times Book Review Section," Media Industry Newsletter, December 16, 1971.

A critical report charges that the U.S.'s most prestigious Sunday book review section has become "the vehicle for virtuoso vitriolics that are oftentimes capriciously irrelevant to the book under review."

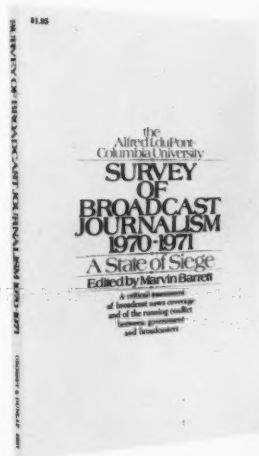
"Art Buchwald—Cruise Director on the Titanic," by Thomas Meehan, New York Times magazine, January 2; "Tom Wolfe: Reactionary Chic," by John Gordon, Ramparts, January.

Humorist Buchwald is engagingly profiled by a frequent *Times* magazine contributor, and "New Journalist" Wolfe, in a savage attack, is described as "interesting mainly as a kind of full-circle return to Defoe, for whom 'fiction' and 'fraud' were the same."

DANIEL J. LEAB

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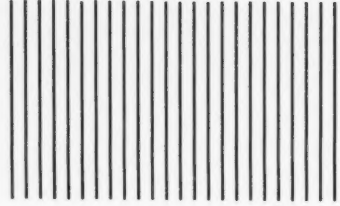
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Antique Stripper To Demonstrate Wares at Store

—Hartford, Conn., *Courant*, Jan. 8.

BY THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE NEW YORK JOURNAL OF COMMERCE
HAS REFUSED ALL COMMENT.

THE TIMES SAID IT OBTAINED COPIES OF THE SLIGHTLY PARAPHRASED
KEATING CABLES FROM SYNDICATED COMMUNIST JACK ANDERSON.

—UPI radio wire, Jan. 5.

Military Stupidity Traced

—Brattleboro, Vt., *Reformer*, Oct. 4, 1971.

(DENVER)—ONE HUNDRED AND 30 MILES NORTHEAST OF DENVER TODAY
THE HIJACKER OF AN AIRWEST JETLINER IS BELIEVED TO HAVE BAILED
OUT—COMING DOWN ON A FARM IN THE GRASSY PLAINS AREA SEVEN
MILES NORTHEAST OF AKRON, OHIO. ABOUT TWO HOURS EARLIER—
"AS VEGAS"—THE MAN HAD "TAKEN CONTROL OF THE PLANE."

—AP radio wire

India Army Advancing On Decca

—Philadelphia *Inquirer*, Dec. 12,
1971.

Manchester Man Bursts, Halts Traffic

—Hartford, Conn., *Times*, Dec.
2, 1971.



Arson suspected

Investigators from the state police were busy this morning after Marion County sheriff's deputies said a fire early today at the Meadowlawn Golf Course pro shop may have been set by burglars. Marion County Fire District 1 answered the 3:40 a.m. alarm. Loss to the building and stock was estimated at \$12,000. (Capital Journal Photo)

—Salem, Ore., *Capital Journal*, Dec. 28,
1971.

The usual rules for the
background sessions allow
reporters to write what they
are told, identifying the
source only as "white horse
officials."

—New York Post, Dec. 16, 1971.

We are proud of the part
we've played in the tremen-
dous growth of our city.
Valley Mattress. Adv.

—Sacramento Bee, Nov. 29, 1971.

7:00 4 Popeye (to 8)-X

7:55 Today (to 8)

Paul Hornung, Vincent
Lombardi Jr. and John
Weibusch, editor of
"Lombardi," discuss
that book about the late
Prime Minister of Great
Britain (7:30). Iranian
students in this country

—Miami Herald, Dec. 1, 1971.

By MARILYN GOLDSTEIN
LA Times Slug

NEW YORK — (The)

—Salem, Ore., *Capital Journal*, Jan. 22.

politan debut. Marilyn Horne
will sing the title part, with
James McCracken as Don
Hose.

Mr. Gentile who succeeds

—New York Times, Jan. 13, 1972.

Correction

The man who told the story of
the fast growing pumpkin,
reported in the Nov. 11 *Refor-*
mer's Putney page, was not
Robert Gouin, but some other
unidentified individual.

—Brattleboro, Vt., *Reformer*, Dec. 8,
1971.

Lowry and the
Hightower, a period when
morals at the museum sagged
seriously, the board has im-
posed an anti-Richard

—New York Times, Jan. 10.

Second reading

"The . . . reporting we need . . . is the hardest kind to get"

■ Today's newspaper reader . . . is better educated than he used to be. He has more sources of information. In fact, more often than not he is already suffering from severe information overload, more media messages than he can absorb properly. Quite often this media bath succeeds only in compounding his perplexity. . . .

Let's assume that we are already proficient in the basic newspaper job: the local, national, and world news; solid service information on the weather, the stock market, TV logs, and movie times; good sports; good feature departments. What else can we do?

Well, consumer reporting is one of the newest and best approaches. There are several good syndicated consumer columns. . . . In most towns, there are consumer scandals just waiting for exposure—in television and auto repairs, for instance, or in credit financing, or in the steady infiltration by organized crime.

There are many other sectors of local news besides the consumer field which will yield excellent results to the expert reporter. The most challenging, I think, is urban affairs, which is to say city planning and zoning, the need for public transit, and the anti-pollution battle. If these challenges cannot be met, then the system as we now know it is going to self-destruct.

Another field is law enforcement and the courts. Except for the heartening example of Ralph Nader and his kind, the law seems to have lost its way. Too much of it seems to be in the pay of those who can pay most. . . .

Education is another field requiring the attention of dedicated reporters. The drugs and the racism and the protest all flourish in the schools. And still another story crying for investigative reporters is that of skyrocketing medical and hospital costs.

Now, the caliber of reporting that we need in each of these areas is the hardest kind to get. It is difficult and expensive. It is dangerous, at least legally if not always physically. It shakes up the town. Sometimes it shakes up advertisers. But if it is done right, if it is aimed at solutions, it can give the serious reader the kind of information he needs. And it can do wonders for the newspaper's self-respect and credibility.

**—J. Edward Murray
Associate Executive Editor,
Detroit Free Press;
to Associated Press Managing
Editors, Nov. 20, 1970.**

